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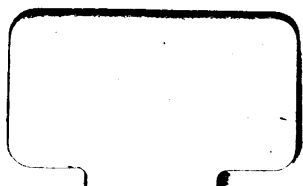
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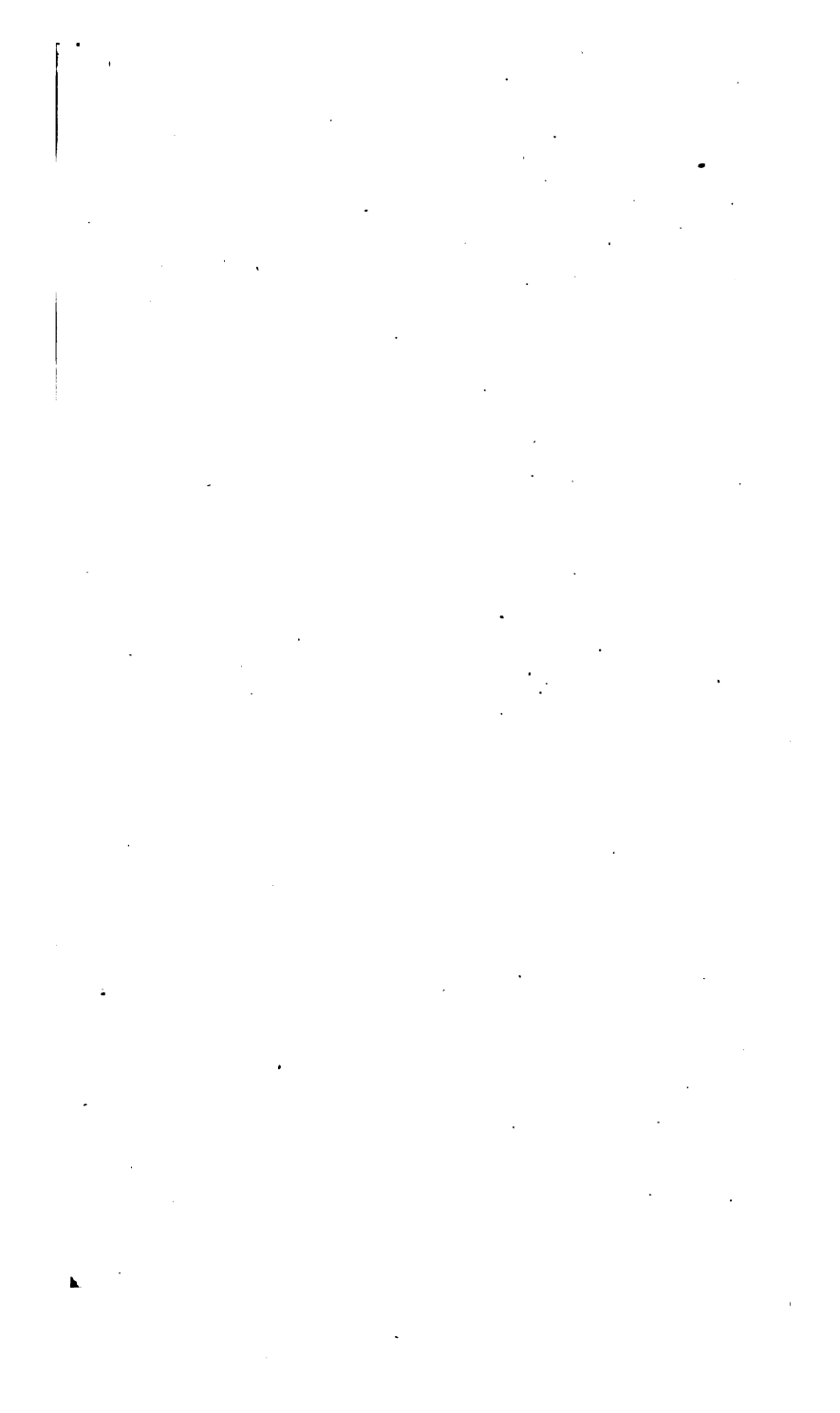
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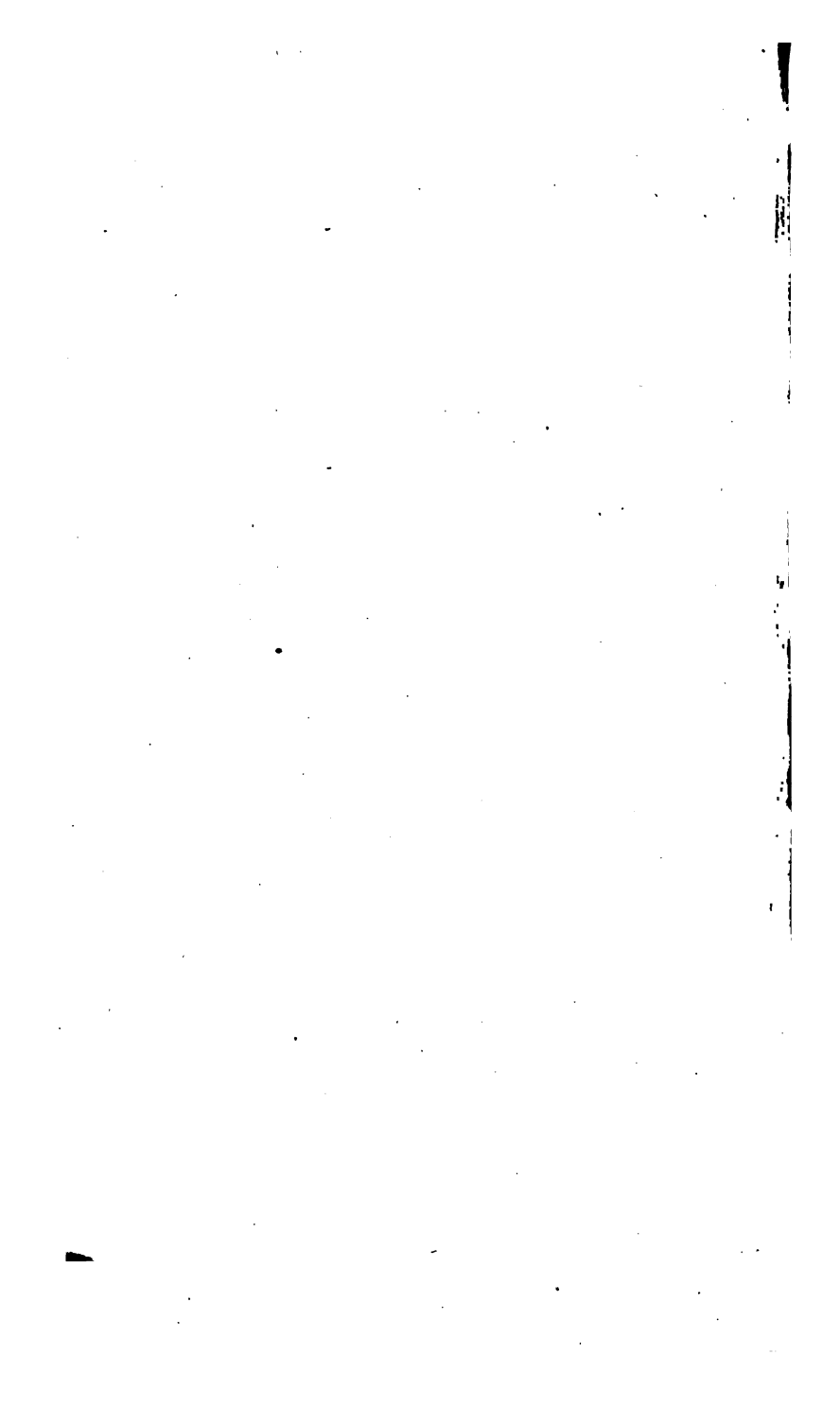
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R.N
(Lafayette)
Ducoudra Holstein







MEMOIRS

OF

GILBERT M. LAFAYETTE.

BY GEN. H. L. V. DUCOUDRAY HOLSTEIN,

Who contributed, under the fictitious name of Peter Feldmann, to his liberation
from the prisons of Oppau.

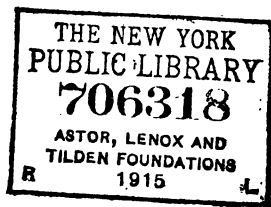
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PREFACE.

LAFAYETTE, the philanthropist—the undeviating friend of liberty and the sacred rights of mankind—the associate and confidant of the immortal Washington—the veteran of liberty in both worlds—is no more! He died at his house in the rue d'Anjou, a few minutes before five o'clock, on the morning of the 20th May, 1834, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, in the full possession, even to the last moment of his existence, of all his mental faculties, surrounded by his numerous children, grand children, and great grand children, all deeply and bitterly lamenting the irreparable loss of such a parent.

About ten years before his death, I had the happiness to embrace and welcome my venerable friend, on his arrival at New-York. I had also the honor of presenting him the first edition of these memoirs, of which the whole edition (five thousand copies) was sold in a few months. A second edition, improved and enlarged, was prepared, when Mr. Charles Wiley died, a little before I had finished correcting and revising my manuscript.

Gen. Lafayette, aware of my intention, had the kindness to furnish me, at various times, with valuable documents, which enable me to present this edition in a more perfect and authentic manner.

THE AUTHOR.

Geneva College, 1835.

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INTRODUCTION.

BENEATH a calm and sedate countenance, which in his youth was mistaken for apathy, Lafayette concealed an ardent but vigorous mind, and feelings naturally humane and sensitive to the emotions of beauty and grandeur. *His reserved manner, his grave and decided air, his silence, in fine, every trait in his character, concurred to contrast it, in the strongest light, with the levity, petulance and blustering foppery of the greater part of the young lords of the court.* Still he was polished and amiable; although the first impression might have been that he was phlegmatic and wanting in energy. But when once fully resolved, nothing could daunt him. Thus it was, that, influenced by the sacred cause of liberty and American independence, he embarked for the new world in defiance of the express prohibition of the king, the minister Maurepas, and all his family, except his young and beloved wife Anastasia, whose great and exalted mind was in perfect accordance with his own. She approved his plan: she was his confident, his support.

But Lafayette knew how to subdue this impetuosity of temper; and we behold him, on many occasions, displaying, at the early age of nineteen, the greatest military talent, a coolness of purpose and a prudence, which would have done honor to the most renowned captains who have grown grey in arms.

Such was Lafayette; and we see these characteristics of his mind most strongly marked during his career in New-Jersey, in Virginia, in his negotiations with D'Es-

taing, Rochambeau and DeGrasse ; in his conferences with the count of Vergennes and Louis XVI., and on many other occasions. In him were united the talents of a general, a diplomatist, and a legislator. Lafayette may truly be styled the *republican*.* Plain, modest and humane, he was neither vain of his high birth, nor was he haughty and proud when he found himself at the head of four millions of the National Guard of France : never did he abuse his power ; and no one has ever fallen a victim to his anger or his passions, since disobedience to his orders, founded as they were on the basis of justice and moderation, was never attempted.

Firmly and sincerely attached to the principles of a wise and beneficent liberty, nothing could force him to deviate from them, and not even the chains and horrors of a dungeon and perpetual imprisonment, could daunt him. Not France, nor England, nor America, nor any other country in the world, can point to an individual of their people and say : "That is a political man, as purely impressed with the love of liberty and of the human race, as was he whom we have just lost."

Lafayette, as the friend and confidant of Washington in America ; at the summit of grandeur and power in France ; in the prisons of Austria and Prussia ; in all the circumstances of his long and stormy career ; forgot neither his principles nor the dignity which characterises the lofty and liberal mind. Napoleon Bonaparte, who made so many sovereigns tremble, who subjugated so many millions of his fellow men, could never intimidate by threats, or win by flatteries, the mind of Lafayette, who ever spoke to him the language of truth and republicanism.

The power of Napoleon trembled, when this veteran of

* *Le Republicain par excellence*.—Vide Considerations sur les evenemens principaux de la Revolution Française, par Madame de Stael Holstein.

liberty arose in the memorable session of June 21, 1815. His manner of seeing and acting was candid and open. Lafayette expressed his thoughts firmly, precisely and clearly, but he offended not his hearer; his political sentiments were those of a citizen of the United States; and his exterior, his deportment and dress, were rather those of an American than of a native of France.

Lafayette, with all his superiority, his elevated and noble principles, generosity of soul, philanthropy and disinterestedness, has been the mark of calumny and persecution. Jacobins, emigrants, and sovereigns, vied in tormenting and injuring him to the utmost; but wanting his virtues and conceptions, none of them were able duly to appreciate, far less to reach his excellence. Lafayette may perhaps be called the martyr of liberty; but at length he triumphed over the malice of his enemies, and forced them to admire and respect him.

It is, nevertheless, much to be regretted that his theory or his *general* principles of the establishment of true liberty, by employing practical, vigorous means, in cases of emergencies, was too abstract and even weak. Facts shall prove this perhaps bold but too true assertion.

His dying moments furnish an illustrious triumph over the malice of his enemies, and his excellence, his public and private character, have forced even his bitterest enemies to admire and respect him. This alone speaks volumes!

Here I may be permitted to insert an abstract of a letter which he addressed to me from La Grange, bearing the date of the 26th December, 1828, and which, I think, will better illustrate his character than any thing I can add:

"I have received, with much pleasure and interest, my dear friend, the information which you give me of your

establishment at Geneva ; of your domestic felicity with a beloved wife and children ; and the tranquillity that you enjoy after so many vicissitudes, part of which I have personally shared, and ought never to forget the hardships and perils you endured relative to my captivity ; they assure you my grateful wishes for the continuance of your welfare and repose. * * * * *

If sentiments of propriety and affection did not command me to remain neutral in the political divisions of the United States,* there are other personal motives to deter me from entering into discussions on topics whose merits I have not had an opportunity of appreciating ; especially when they relate to men who have rendered so great services to liberty, and who have always addressed me in its language. If their subsequent conduct belies their former,† I, more than any one, would be afflicted ; my principles and my actions, which are known, will characterize my opinion of those who may deviate from the cause of liberty. But I am slow to believe that, after having tasted true glory, they wish to renounce it. I confess that thus it was with Napoleon : however, I must not forget that there was a time when my own sentiments and views were strangely misconstrued by a great part of my countrymen, &c. &c.

(Signed)

"LAFAYETTE.

"To Gen. H. L. V. Ducoudray Holstein,
Geneva, State of New York."

* Alluding to South America.

† Speaking of Bolivar and his decided steps in Carthegena, to be named absolute master of the Republic of Colombia.

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Note by the Publishers.—The author of the following pages having been called to a permanent residence in Albany, previous to the publication of the work, circumstances made it necessary for the publishers to rely on Sarrans' *Memoirs of Lafayette*, for most of the facts relative to the revolution of 1830, and the subsequent course of Lafayette.

PART I.

LAFAYETTE'S CAREER IN AMERICA UNTIL THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

CHAPTER I.

*Birth and early life of Lafayette.**

LA FAYETTE (Marie-Paul-Jean-Roch-Yves-Gilbert Mottier Marquis de) was born at Chavagnac, on the 6th of September, 1757. This Chateau is situated about two leagues from Brioude, in what was formerly the province of Auvergne, now the department of la Haute Loire.

His father, Mottier Marquis de La Fayette, distinguished himself in the armies of Louis XV.; his uncle was slain in Italy, and his grandfather, the Marshal Marquis de La Fayette, rendered his name illustrious on the records of military achievements, in the famous battle of Beaujeu, in which he vanquished and slew the father of Henry V., and saved the crown of Charles VIII.† A Madame de Lafayette has rendered her name celebrated in French literature, as the author of the tender and witty *Princesse de Cleves*.‡

The young de La Fayette lost his parents before he had attained his second year. His mother, a *Demoiselle de La Riviere*, died while he was yet an infant, and his father fell on the battle-field of Minden, August 1, 1759.

The inhabitants of Auvergne are distinguished from other natives of France, by an ardent, firm and energetic character, a bold and enterprising spirit, contempt of danger and love of independence. The La Fayette family,

* Since the revolution of France, his signature is *Lafayette*; before, he signed *de La Fayette*.

† Some advantages gained over the English, reanimated their patriotic zeal. Marshal de La Fayette, effecting a conjunction with the Scotch Count of Buchan, defeated them at the battle of Beaujeu, their forces having been hitherto too numerous to warrant him in hazarding an engagement. See *Abregé de l'Histoire de France à l'usage de l'ancienne école Militaire*, Partie I.

‡ This romance, which has received the highest marks of public esteem in France, has been translated into various foreign languages, and to this day is the ornament of a well-selected library.

particularly, has constantly exhibited a decisive and intrepid turn of mind, an ardent and romantic imagination, and an ambition to excel in both the departments of letters and of arms.

At the age of eleven, Lafayette was sent to the college of Duplessis,* at Paris, where he received the rudiments of his education, and thoroughly acquired the Latin tongue, with which he was singularly familiar. He was enrolled, at fifteen, in the *Mousquetaires* of the king, a kind of body-guard, formed of young gentlemen whose families had been ennobled for four generations previous, each holding the rank of officer; he, however, frequented their company but little.

Young, independent, and master of a large fortune, at the age of sixteen he married Mademoiselle Anastasie de Noailles, daughter of the wealthy duke d'Ayen. This marriage augmented his fortune, and united him to a young lady of great merit, whom I shall have occasion to mention more than once in the course of this biography. Lafayette then entered the regiment of Noailles, which his father-in-law at that time commanded. Supported by the interest of the powerful house of Noailles, he might have run a brilliant career at court. The king, Louis XVI., nearly of his own age, had but lately succeeded his father, Louis XV., deceased May 10, 1774. The young queen, Marie Antoinette, a beautiful and accomplished woman, had assembled around her all that was splendid, noble and amiable in France. Daughter of the empress Marie Therese, sister of the emperor Joseph II., and the spouse of a king, educated amid pomp and ostentation, the Austrian princess delighted in nothing but pleasure, flattery, and festivals. Prompted by a strange caprice, she distinguished the young Marquis de La Fayette, and justly, for he did not flatter. Thus it was in his power to have acquired uncontrolled ascendancy at court; but his success must have been the fruit of deceit; and, as he himself says, it was already too much to this deceit, that he owed the first steps in a career which he promised himself to pursue in a manner more worthy of him.

* It was erroneously stated in my first edition, that Lafayette studied at the college of *Louis le Grand*. The author of article *Lafayette*, in the *Encyclopædia Americana*, has committed the same error. I would wish to correct it on the authority of Gen. Lafayette himself.

And then began to flourish that germ of patriotic virtue, which enriched his riper years with the finest fruits, combining in him a magnanimity beyond his age and profession, the philanthropy of a sage, and the valor of a warrior. He sought, in the success of the field, but the amelioration of the human race. His ardent spirit aspired to the noblest enterprizes, no longer enduring the enervating dissipations of a splendid but corrupted court.

The young nobles of this reign courted pleasure in every species of festival and amusement. They assisted at the brilliant levees of the queen. But they also took a part in political affairs, under the mask of witticism and caricature. The recall of the members of parliament, exiled by Louis XV., then occupied the public mind, and was made an object of particular interest by these gentlemen. As they were one day amusing themselves by representing, in burlesque, the sessions of these grave judges, a prince of the blood (Charles X., then Count d'Artois) personified the first president; (President *a* Mortier;) others played the part of attorney, advocate and counsellor, all habited in the grotesque costumes of those magistrates. It may appear remarkable that, on that day, the young Marquis de La Fayette sustained the character of accuser for the people!

At the moment of the first troubles in the Anglo-American colonies, all Europe turned her attention to the new world. Each expressed his wish in favor of or against the emancipation of America, as his interest or circumstances might prompt. From that moment, France, the sworn foe of England, made the most zealous endeavors to promote the cause of American independence, and Spain soon followed her example. Many French gentlemen warmly espoused the interests of the *Bostonians*; (it was by this name that the American patriots were known in France, because the revolution began in Boston;) but none of them exceeded young Lafayette; none distinguished himself so much; none rendered so important services to their cause; nor did any so faithfully adhere to it. He left a young wife, a powerful family that cherished him, a brilliant court, brilliant with attractions and all the luxuries of life, to seek a thousand privations, fatigues, dangers, and even death, in a far distant and strange land. But the fire of his ardent spirit, glow-

ing with the soul of liberty and glory, subdued every impediment, and nothing withheld him from the execution of his generous designs.

CHAPTER II.

History of the colonization of the two Americas, and particularly that part of the Northern Continent which is now comprised within the boundaries of the Republic of the United States—Their situation previous to the Revolution.

To those who have studied attentively the history of the settlement of the two Americas, my reply to some persons who requested of me intelligence of Colombia, when I returned from the service of that country in 1816, will not be surprising. It was this: "That its inhabitants could in no way be compared to the Anglo-Americans; that their nominal republics could offer neither liberty nor security, either for the person or the property of emigrants, nor assure them stable repose." I was thought visionary, prejudiced and partial.*

It is true, that nature has lavished her gifts on Spanish America, and that her inhabitants lead the most sensual and indolent life. But the despotic and papal government of Spain has extinguished her light and smothered every impulse of industry in her citizens. While the inferior animals and the plants develop their vigor and beauty in the full luxuriance of natural liberty, here man alone dares not put forth his talents and his powers. The government never encouraged this development, justly dreading that its yeomanry should be informed of and appreciate their strength and resources,

*The last years of Gen. Bolivar's earthly career have given evident proofs of the correctness of my description of his character, his secret ambition, his anxious wishes to obtain absolute power. Some respectable persons who knew him as well as I did, even told me I had not only said too much, but too little! It is, therefore, ridiculous to see, in the *Encyclopaedia Americana*, article *Bolivar*, the contemptible dictamen of an anonymous critic, who condemns my *Memoirs of Bolivar*, as a vehement philippic. The poor man may have been bribed by Bolivar, to pronounce his *persecut* in his holy and blind zeal. And no wonder: the book has appeared in Boston, in London, in Paris, in Florence, and in Berlin, translated into these various languages. The impartial reader may also see, in my *Memoirs of Bolivar*, what I say of Gen. Santander, Paez, Bermudez, Soublette, &c.; and judge, by the well known events in Colombia, if I have predicted right or wrong, and if I have known them well or not. See the motto on the title-page: remember, besides, that I wrote and published said *Memoirs* during the life-time of Gen. Bolivar, while he was in full possession of power. My name and residence were in the book.

and that thus the idea of declaring themselves free and independent might be engendered. Thus every notion of liberty and right was carefully suppressed.

In examining their history, it is easy to perceive that the Hispano-Americans are not prepared to enjoy a wise and stable freedom, based upon virtue and laws: for, from the moment in which South America and Mexico were discovered, till the present time, a throng of money-hunting adventurers have ever crowded to its shores, to disturb the peace of its natives. Spain sends to them her religion, manners, and customs; her ideas, principles, vices, and prejudices. Columbus, Cortes, Pizarro, and their successors, came but to rob them of their gold and treasures. Here they reared their standard and forced the Indians to embrace their creed, burning and causing all to perish in torments, who refused to do homage to the cross. The inquisition and the rack, forced labor, slavery and death, followed the conquests of the Spaniards, who committed a thousand barbarous and horrid deeds. Hence, they dared not disband or quit their arms. Fortifications of every kind were multiplied; and, fearful of surprize, the soldiers quitted them only in crowds. No Spaniard ventured into the interior, to break the soil and establish himself, as other Europeans did in North America. But when the dwindling number of the aborigines no longer inspired them with dread, their plantations became the abodes of suffering to the remnant which was left. The coast of Africa supplied vast numbers of blacks, to fill the places of the disappearing natives, and peopled the country with a mixed race, the slaves of the Spaniards.

The Spanish husbandman deemed himself dishonored by labor; he lived in abundance, sloth, and devotion. A priest or a missionary was frequently more powerful among them than a viceroy. The instruction of both sexes was confided to the monks and nuns. The almost exclusively prevailing form of religion is the Catholic faith: her ceremonies, her festivals, and the influence which her priests exercise over the people, undoubtedly, has facilitated the introduction of that boundless prejudice, superstition, and universal spirit of intolerance, which has promoted the establishment of the royal and monkish dominion, that extinguishes her light and indus-

try. The planter yields himself to the sway of the vices and prejudices of his country. The delicious climate of Spanish America, and its surprising fertility, invite him to the enjoyment of a thousand enervating pleasures, which render him indolent, careless and submissive. From the Europeans, Indians, and Negroes, has sprung a mixed race, benumbed in the easy slavery which the climate and the Spanish manners establish wherever they prevail. Can a people, dispersed among vast forests and under an infinite variety of climes, without any national relation, and having no common interest, be so well disposed to democratic institutions, as the homogeneous and almost entirely protestant population of the United States? It is seriously to be apprehended, that a people emerging from servitude and casting themselves into the arms of liberty, should be precipitated into anarchy; and anarchy seldom fails giving birth to despotism. Can it be possible, that a race of men, thus for three centuries accustomed to bow beneath the double yoke of papal and monarchical tyranny, becoming at once free and independent, should be able to conduct themselves as the inhabitants of the United States? It was by being long inured to toil and privation, and leaving their virtues and intelligence behind them, for many a succeeding generation, that the people of this Union have reached their present station among the great nations of the earth. They have been ripening to this point for three hundred years; and when the English colonies dissolved their connexion with Great Britain, their political aspect was indeed very different from the present condition of Spanish America. Those colonies which now compose the United States, were at different periods peopled by English emigrants, dissatisfied with their own native land, and seeking, in a removal from it, that civil and religious freedom which had been denied them at home. They who principally settled New-England, were of that famous republican sect, so well known during the reign of Charles II.

A hatred for monarchy was still cherished in the rigorous climate of Massachusetts, New-Hampshire, and Maine; and when the revolution first broke out in Boston, one may almost say that it was but a continuation of the revolution of 1649, which had, as it were, been adjourned

for little more than a century, and which the descendants of Cromwell and the Puritans were about to complete. If Cromwell himself, who had embarked for New-England, and whose landing was forbidden by an order of Charles I.; if Cromwell himself had reached the shores of America, he might have lived in obscurity; but his posterity would have enjoyed the republican liberty which he sought in the perpetration of a crime, and which yielded him a throne.

The soldiers made prisoners on the field of battle and sold as slaves by the parliamentary faction, and who were never recalled by Charles II., left descendants in North America but little attached to the royal cause.

The husbandmen of the new world landed with the intent of establishing themselves permanently, and of gaining their livelihood by their toil; they selected each his own spot of earth, and felled the vast forest which encumbered it. A miserable cabin sheltered them from the rigor of the seasons; they dwelt isolated from society, without laws and government; their own masters, they followed that instinct innate in man, which inclines him to freedom and independence. With the conviction of being beyond the reach of civil and religious persecution, and of having their subsistence assured them by their labor, the settlers of the new world became more and more confirmed in the principles analogous to beings endowed with reason and energy. The labors of the field strengthen his body, and impart to man that decided and independent spirit, which causes him to spurn at the domination of his fellow. Each was the legislator of his cottage, his family and fields; his existence was disenthralled and happy.

With the organization which religious and political events brought over from Europe to English America, the face of affairs began to assume a new aspect; but it did not change the manner of seeing, and the independent spirit which had been transmitted down from father to son. Fertile fields and commodious and agreeable habitations arose where deserts and forests had stood; the shores of the lakes and seas, and the banks of the great streams, were crowded with villages, towns, and cities. Here each brought his industry and talents, became a useful citizen, prospered and dwelt happily in repose.

The sloth and privileges of nobility were excluded; and, as they merited, the indolent passed an irksome existence: labor or suffering were inevitable.

As English, the greater part of the colonists were already accustomed to public discussions of the people's interests, to the rights of citizenship and to a constitutional form of government. They were instructed in the arts, letters, and sciences; they all shared the advantages of the mother country. They enjoyed the right of trial by jury; and each settlement formed a charter, by virtue of which it administered its own government. These charters were based on such high and exalted notions of liberty, that they remain, to this day, the constitutions of each individual state. From this it results, if the expression be allowed, that they did not change their existence at the moment of the revolution. An American Congress was substituted for a British Parliament; a President for a King; feudal dissensions gave way to the Federal Union; and happily a great man was born to serve it, powerfully supported by a young enthusiast, well qualified, in every respect, to comply with his voluntarily assumed and gigantic task!

Where can be found any of these great advantages—the necessary preliminaries of obtaining a sound and happy establishment of freedom and independence—among our sister republics in the Spanish colonies? Generations may pass in rapid succession, before it is possible to think of this so highly desirable result.

CHAPTER III.

Primary causes of the Revolution in the Anglo-American colonies—Commencement of hostilities—First Congress—Battle of Lexington.

THE life of Gen. Lafayette is so intimately connected with the events of the revolutionary war of North America, that the discussion of the one necessarily involves the consideration of the other. Notwithstanding the powerful opposition of the mother country, the entire destitution of all resources, and the absolute want of external assistance, in the first years of the revolution; the

colonists were enabled, in the short space of seven years, to triumph over a mighty nation, who affected to regard them as rebellious slaves, soon to be reduced to submission and obedience.

What was happily begun by the patience and perseverance of the first heroes of the revolution, has been finally accomplished by the wisdom and virtue of their descendants.

During the war of Great Britain against France and Spain, the Anglo-American colonies supported the cause of England with such zeal and perseverance, that by their services, the highest applause and respect accrued to the mother country. They had become powerful and populous, advanced in the career of the useful arts, and possessing a commercial relation with every point of the globe. A frequent intercourse between them had rendered their union more intimate, and disposed them to aid each other. The spirit of independence was strengthened by the mutual confidence which existed between them, and with this, the conviction of their own merit and resources.

The idea of submission to the despotic mandate of Britain, every day became more insupportable. Had the mother country been more just and moderate, the colonists never would have desired emancipation; but oppression ever creates resistance and produces revolutions. Spain profitted not by the lesson which England had given her, and America has shaken off the yoke of bondage which oppressed her sons.

France dexterously took advantage of the discontent then existing in the British colonies. She could not forget the reverses of the last war. By the peace of Paris, (1763,) England had obtained the guarantee of the vast continent of North America, from the banks of the Mississippi to the coast of Greenland, and Canada was ceded to her by France. By this treaty, England also obtained possession of several of the West India islands. Her power was extending itself so rapidly in the east, and her arms and commerce prevailed so widely, that it had become impossible to bring any maritime force to compete with her.

France, now too much exhausted, and driven to renounce the hope of reaping any further advantage by force of arms, had recourse to intrigue. She despatched

her emissaries to all parts of the American continent, to kindle the spirit of discontent among her people, and to excite the desire of shaking from them the yoke of England; intimating that succor might be expected from the powerful enemies of Great Britain, should they declare themselves free.

At that period, the political situation of Europe was highly favorable to the secret designs of France; for, from the day of the conclusion of the peace of Paris, in 1763, every state, with the exception of Portugal, concurred in considering the gigantic growth of British power as prejudicial to the repose and liberty of the continent. This had also been the situation of France under Louis XIV. The powers of the north were distrustful of England's superiority, and murmured loudly, that in time of war she had invaded the commercial rights of the neutral powers. They awaited a propitious moment, to give vent to their indignation.

The colonists had indulged the expectation that England would be grateful for their aid during the late war. That the British government, after the peace of Paris, should make an entire change in her system of administration in the colonies, astonished them. Instead of relieving them, she inflicted new impositions, new prohibitions and grievances. The parliament, in which they had no representative nor interest, pretended to possess and exercise the power of taxing and binding them at its pleasure. In the month of March, 1764, the parliament, permitting the colonies to trade with the West India islands in possession of France and other foreign powers, decreed that merchandize imported from them to American ports, should be subject to exorbitant duties, that specie might be poured into the treasury of England. But when, in 1765, the Americans were apprized of the fact that the British parliament had introduced the Stamp Act, they broke out in open indignation, particularly in Boston, the capital of Massachusetts, as also in Rhode-Island and in many other parts of the colonies. The stamp paper caused such formidable opposition, and excited the murmurs of the people to such a degree, that the parliament was forced to repeal the act on 22d February, to the universal joy of the Americans. The best informed and most intelligent part of the community be-

lieved that the existing state of affairs could not long continue without entailing the most serious consequences on the country. Massachusetts, the most populous province, and that in which the opposition to the measures of Britain first broke out, adopted a resolution, which was soon after adopted by the neighboring colonies. Her patriotic leaders proposed that, in a congress of deputies from every province, an article of general confederation should be adopted, in opposition to the oppressive laws of England. This congress was held in the city of New-York, on the 7th October, 1765. Timothy Ruggles presided. Three petitions were drawn up; one to the king, another to the house of lords, and the third to the house of commons, of England.

Soon after, new grievances arose in Massachusetts and New-York, in consequence of the English governor, Francis Bernard, refusing to confirm the nomination of James Otis to the presidential chair of the legislative assembly of the former province. The inhabitants of that country, in 1772, constituted, in the city of Boston, a central committee of correspondence, which established similar committees in all her towns and villages, to facilitate the information of what was passing. The design of this committee was to make choice of chiefs capable of taking the most vigorous measures, and of co-operating with the members of similar committees in the other provinces, to defeat every enterprize of England against America. The members of these clubs declared their fixed determination of establishing the liberty of their country at the expense of their lives.

In 1773, the inhabitants of Boston, to avoid the duties upon the importation of tea, boarded a vessel of the East India company, just arrived in port, laden with the commodity, and without the least disorder, emptied the contents of three hundred and forty chests into the sea: this effected, each quietly retired to his own house. The company could find no merchant in the cities of New-York or Philadelphia, willing to take the tea which they had sent to those ports; and the vessels were obliged to return to England with their cargoes. When the British minister was apprized of the measures taken in Massachusetts, on the 14th March, 1774, Lord North introduced an act into the house of commons, prohibiting, subse-

quently to the date of 1st June of the same year, the landing or embarkation of any merchandize or goods whatever, in the city of Boston; and that the custom-house should be transferred from that city to Salem. The bill passed. A few days after, the same minister presented another bill, authorizing the king to nominate the council, the judges and magistrates of every donomination, in Massachusetts; bestowing the privilege on each, of retaining his place during the pleasure of the king. By this measure, the fundamental laws of Massachusetts became void, and it was no longer in her power to take part, directly or indirectly, in the administration of the government of the province, since it thus became entirely dependent on the crown. This bill was also carried.

When intelligence of the sanction of the act of the 14th March reached Boston, the inhabitants of that city were assembled, and it was declared to be a cruel and unjust measure. The convention indicted a manifesto, appealing to God and man for justice. It was voted, that a number of copies of the same be struck off on paper, with a black border, in token of mourning; that it might make the greater impression on the minds of the people. Those charged with the distribution of this manifesto in the neighboring provinces, publicly declaimed against the act, as sanguinary and barbarous. In many places, the people assembled and burnt it with great pomp.*

In the midst of this ebullition, Gen. Gage succeeded^{to} to the chair of Hutchinson, former English governor of the province; and as he was known and respected by the Bostonians, he was received with distinction: his predecessor was not esteemed.

The central committee, supported by the citizens of Boston, acted with promptitude and energy, though with circumspection; for they could not reasonably exact the participation of their neighbors in an affair purely local. But as the indignation was general, the inhabitants of the other provinces soon embraced the cause of Massachusetts, and declared themselves highly in favor of a union

* Edmund Burke says, in his parliamentary speech on American taxation: "Leave the Americans as they anciently stood: they and we, and their and our ancestors, have been happy under that system. *Oppose the ancient policy and practice of the empire, as a rampart against the speculations of innovators,* and they will stand on a manly and sure ground. [Bissett's History of the Reign of George III., vol. 1, p. 473.]

capable of putting itself in a condition to resist the arbitrary and tyrannical acts of Britain. The committee of Boston received the highest applause from all quarters, with assurances of aid and support. The provincial conventions concurred in a proposal for the appointment of a congress, the members of which were to be elected in each province; and charged with the care of the common interest.

Gen. Gage in vain remonstrated against this step; and the people, foreseeing that recourse must soon be had to arms, collected every species of munition of war.

Such was the situation of affairs, when congress assembled and opened its first session, in the city of Philadelphia, on the 4th September, 1774. It was composed of fifty-five members,* all distinguished as men of probity, intelligence and talents. Peyton Randolph was called to preside, and Charles Thompson was appointed secretary.

When Gen. Gage was apprized that the inhabitants in the vicinity had collected arms and munitions in the village of Concord, he despatched Col. Smith, with troops, to convey them to Boston, or destroy them. Arrived at Lexington on the morning of the 19th April, 1775, he there found a body of seventy armed inhabitants, awaiting the coming of the English. When Major Pitcairn, who commanded the advanced guard, perceived this assemblage, he cried out, in an imperious tone, "Disperse, ye rebels; lay down your arms!" The patriots did not obey: upon which, the major of the advance, discharging a pistol and drawing his sword, ordered his men to fire. Too few in number to resist, they gave way, the English following them up with their fire, which,

* The names of the distinguished members of the first American congress can not be here omitted:

New-Hampshire.—John Sullivan, Nathaniel Fulsom. *Massachusetts Bay.*—James Bowdine, Thomas Cushing, Samuel Adams, John Adams, Robert Treat Paine. *Rhode Island and Providence Plantations.*—Stephen Hopkins, Samuel Ward. *Connecticut.*—Eliphalet Dyer, Roger Sherman, Silas Deane. *New-York.*—James Duane, Henry Wisner, John Jay, Philip Livingston, Isaac Low, John Altop, Wm. Floyd. *New-Jersey.*—James Kinsey, Wm. Livingston, John Dehart, Stephen Crane, Richard Smith. *Pennsylvania.*—Joseph Galloway, Chas. Humphreys, Saml. Rhoads, Geo. Ross, John Morton, Thos. Mifflin, Edward Biddle, John Dickenson. *Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex on Delaware.*—Cesar Rodney, Thomas McKean, George Read. *Maryland.*—Robert Goldsborough, Thomas Johnson, William Paca, Samuel Chase, Matthew Tilghman. *Virginia.*—Peyton Randolph, Richard Henry Lee, George Washington, Patrick Henry, Richard Feland, Benjamin Harrison, Edmund Pendleton. *North Carolina.*—William Hooper, Joseph Hughes, Richard Caswell. *South Carolina.*—Henry Middleton, John Rutledge, Thomas Lynch, Christopher Gadsden, Edward Rutledge.

as opportunity permitted, they returned. The Americans were soon reinforced and began to attack the British; who, after a sharp action, were driven back upon Lexington, and would all have been either slain or taken, had not Gen. Gage promptly relieved them.

The success of this day reanimated the courage of the Americans, while it intimidated the English. The legislature of Massachusetts was sitting at Watertown, ten miles from Boston, when it received the details of the action of Lexington. It immediately adopted the most vigorous measures, to put itself in a position to resist, by force of arms, every hostile attack; organized the militia, exercised and disciplined it, appointed pay to the officers and soldiers, and authorized a levy of thirteen thousand men as the quota of Massachusetts; invited the provinces of New-Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode-Island, to give in theirs, in order that an army of thirty thousand men might be placed under the command of Gen. John Thomas. So great was the enthusiasm, that in a short time this force was encamped near Boston. The warlike Americans were forced to dismiss several thousand volunteers, who returned mortified to their homes.

Shortly after the events at Lexington, the provincial congress met at Philadelphia, and the events of the war gradually assumed a more regular aspect. Troops were levied in most of the provinces, and congress unanimously appointed one of the deputies from Virginia, commander-in-chief of the provincial forces.

Washington's name alone was sufficient to insure, wherever it was heard, unqualified respect, and unhesitating veneration. Creating every thing from nothing, meeting and surmounting innumerable obstacles, after a seven years' struggle against an almost overwhelming strength, his eventful triumph far exceeded the expectations of the world, who scarcely dared to anticipate a success, for which they offered up to Heaven their most ardent prayers. Achievements like these could only be surpassed by the closing act of his political career, by which he sacrificed, to the liberties of a nation, the power and the influence he had gained in their acquirement.

After long and animated debates, congress determined, on the motion of Richard Henry Lee, one of the deputies from Virginia, to publish to the world a solemn de-

claration of their independence. This manifesto was accordingly prepared by a draught of Thomas Jefferson, another of the Virginia deputies, and signed by John Hancock, the president of congress, on the 4th of July, 1776.

Twelve states assented unanimously, and almost immediately, to this ever memorable declaration, and the thirteenth shortly after acceded to the measures of the rest.

CHAPTER IV.

Lafayette's resolution to pass over to America—His interview with the American Ministers at Paris—His preparations for embarking—His flight from France—His safe arrival at Charleston.

ENGLAND was now making vast preparations to reduce her colonies to submission by force of arms, and the attention of all Europe was directed to America: it was generally believed that she could not long resist this overwhelming power. The young Marquis de La Fayette, in common with all patriotic and enlightened Frenchmen, was desirous of a reform at home, called for by the imbecility of the government, the weakness of the king, the excesses of the ministry, the general discontent of all classes, the impoverished state of the treasury, and the total disregard of morality and religion. Endowed, both by nature and education, with a love of liberty and philosophy, and inspired with noble sentiments and a spirit of chivalry, the Marquis de La Fayette had watched attentively the progress of the controversy between the American colonies and the mother country, and examined every subject connected with it. This glorious cause attracted universal admiration, and received the approbation of all liberal-minded men. Lafayette did not confine himself merely to wishes for its success: he was among the first who personally assisted them, and shed his blood to promote the establishment of liberty in North America. A general peace throughout Europe had consigned him to inaction, too inglorious for his lofty and warlike spirit. The battles which were now fighting in America, opened

a path equally brilliant and delightful to his ambitious spirit, which detested British pride and domination.

The following circumstance contributed most powerfully to decide Lafayette at once to depart for America: The regiment de Noailles, which bore the name of his father-in-law, who was its colonel and proprietor, was at that time, 1776, in garrison at Metz. It appeared that the Duke of Gloucester, brother to the king of England, arrived, in June of the same year, in said city. The duke had fallen into disgrace, and was exiled from England for having formed a mean alliance and married against the wishes of his royal brother. The Duke de Noailles gave a splendid dinner to his royal visitor, to which the principal officers, and among them his son-in-law, Captain Lafayette, were invited. Despatches had just been received by the duke from England, and he made their contents the topic of conversation. They related to American affairs; the recent declaration of independence, the resistance of the colonists, and the strong measures adopted by the ministry to crush the rebellion.

The details were new to Lafayette. He listened with eagerness to the conversation, and prolonged it by asking questions of the duke. His curiosity was deeply excited by what he heard, and the idea of a people fighting for liberty, had a strong influence upon his imagination. The cause seemed to him just and noble, from the representations of the duke himself; and before he left the table, the thought came into his head, that he would go to America, and offer his services to a people who were struggling for freedom and independence. From that hour he could think of nothing but this chivalrous enterprise. He resolved to return to Paris and make further inquiries.

When he arrived in that city, he confided his scheme to two young friends, Count Segur and Viscount de Noailles, and proposed that they should join him. They entered with enthusiasm into his views; but, as they were dependent on their families, it was necessary to consult their parents, who reprobated the plan and refused to consent. The young men faithfully kept Lafayette's secret. His situation was more fortunate, as his property was at his own disposal, and he possessed an annual revenue of nearly two hundred thousand livres.

He next announced his intention to the Count de Broglie, who told him that his project was so chimerical and fraught with so many hazards, without a prospect of the least advantage, that he could not for a moment regard it with favor, nor encourage him with any advice, which should prevent him from abandoning it immediately. When Lafayette found him thus determined, he requested that at least he would not betray him, for he was resolved to go to America. The Count de Broglie assured him that his confidence was not misplaced; but, said he, "I have seen your uncle die in the wars of Italy; I witnessed your father's death at the battle of Minden, and I will not be accessory to the ruin of the only remaining branch of the family." He then used all his powers of argument and persuasion, to divert Lafayette from his purpose, but in vain. Finding his determination unalterable, the Count de Broglie said, as he could render him no aid, he would introduce him to the Baron de Kalb, who he knew was seeking an opportunity to go to America, and whose experience and counsels might be valuable.

Through this channel, Lafayette procured an interview with Silas Deane, who explained to him the state of things in America, and gave him encouragement.* Deane was formal, spoke little French, and the conversation was not very copious. As he had not yet been acknowledged in any public character, and was surrounded by the British ambassador's spies, it was thought advisable, that, to avoid suspicion, no more interviews should take place. The affair was afterwards managed by the intervention of Mr. Carmichael. An agreement was at length concluded, by the terms of which the Marquis de Lafayette was to join the American service, and to receive from congress the appointment of major-general.* A vessel was about to be despatched with arms and other military supplies for the American army, in which it was proposed he should take passage.

At this juncture came the news of the evacuation of New-York, the loss of Fort Washington, the retreat across Jersey, and the numerous disasters attending the cam-

* Lafayette protested against this nomination, and stated simply that he would serve as a volunteer under Washington; but his two friends and Deane insisted on giving him this high rank.

paign. The friends of America were in despair. The plan of sending a vessel with munitions of war was abandoned. Lafayette was advised to give up the scheme, and not to make so hopeless a sacrifice, in an adventure that, at best, must end in utter disappointment. These representations and prospects, so far from disheartening him, rather increased his arder in the pursuit of his object. "My zeal and love of liberty," said he, "have perhaps been hitherto the prevailing motives; but now I see a chance for usefulness, which I had not anticipated. I have money; I will purchase a ship, which shall convey to America myself, my companions, and the freight for congress. By this time, Franklin and Arthur Lee had joined Deane as commissioners. To a proposal so disinterested and generous, they could not object; they could only admire the spirit which dictated it; and he hastened immediately to put it in execution.

He entrusted his secret to Dubois-Martin, secretary to the Count de Broglie, whom he despatched to Bordeaux, with instructions to purchase a vessel. This was done; but the vessel wanted repairs, and other preparations were necessary. To prevent discovery during the delay in getting things in readiness, he took the opportunity to fulfil a previous engagement, which was now claimed by the Prince de Poix, to visit England in company with him. The two friends arrived in London, where they received many marks of civility and attention from the king and persons of rank. It was the policy of the ministers, at this time, to make it appear that a good understanding existed between the English and French courts; and the visit of these young noblemen was a circumstance favorable to that end. They stayed about three weeks in London, when Lafayette received intelligence that his vessel was ready at Bordeaux, and he returned to France; but not without some displeasure on the part of the Marquis de Noailles, the French ambassador in London, who thought his departure too abrupt and unceremonious. The British king and ministers always supposed that the Marquis de Noailles was acquainted with Lafayette's design to go to America during this visit. But this was a mistake. Lafayette has often been heard to say, that neither the Marquis de Noailles nor any other individual in London had a knowledge of

his purpose. British writers have also charged him with going there to obtain information which should be useful to the Americans. This suspicion was equally without foundation. So far from taking advantage of his situation for such a purpose, his delicacy restrained him from making such a use of his opportunities, as would, under other circumstances, have been particularly agreeable to him. It was on this ground alone, that he declined accepting a proposal to visit the naval armament at Portsmouth, which was then fitting out for America.

He did not enter Paris on his return, but went to Passy, where he remained concealed, and saw only Segur and a very few other friends. After three days, he set off for Bordeaux; but on arriving there, he found that his vessel was not entirely ready. He soon discovered, also, that his precautions had not been effectual; that his departure was known at Versailles; and that an arrest by order of the king would immediately follow him. He adopted the only mode of escape, that of setting sail without delay. He proceeded to Passage, the nearest port in Spain, where he proposed to wait for his ship's papers. He had hardly reached that harbor, when two officers arrived by land from Bordeaux, with a *lettre de cachet* from the king, prohibiting his departure. * At the same time came letters from the ministers and from his family, insisting on his return. Lord Stormont's spies had detected his movements, and that ambassador had communicated the intelligence to Lafayette's father-in-law. The *lettre de cachet* commanded him to repair to Marseilles, and there wait for further orders. The letters from the ministers were severe, charging him with violating his oath of allegiance to the king, and of rashly committing an act which might involve the government with other powers. His family censured him in a tone of pointed reprimand; assuring him that his conduct, if persisted in, would ruin both them and himself. Lafayette had previously communicated his whole plan to his young and high-minded wife. At first, thunderstruck with astonishment and apprehension, she was strongly opposed to her husband's departure; but seeing Lafayette's fixed determination to lose not a moment, she at once announced to him her desire to accompany him, and share with him all the perils of the sea and of the

camp. It was now *his* turn to dissuade *her* from her resolution ; and thus these two truly enthusiastic and heroic souls contended, during an hour's time, who should surpass the other in noble and generous feelings. At last, Madame de Lafayette gained the palm ; she wiped off her tears, promised not only to remain with her father, but assisted him (Lafayette) secretly, with a truly heroic zeal, to prepare every thing for his voyage. She therefore did not join in these outcries against him : she wrote him a letter full of approval, love, and encouragement. He said to me, it was an angelic letter, and confessed that if she had given him the least hint to return to her—"je n'aurais su trop que faire. J'étais emu presque repentant." The family were preparing for a tour in Italy ; and the design was, that he should meet them at Marseilles, go with them on this tour, and thus be diverted from his American project.

From Passage he was obliged to return with the officers to Bordeaux, where he reported himself to the commandant. He wrote to the ministers and his friends, replying to their charges, and vindicating himself in the best manner he could. He reminded them, that an officer in the king's Irish regiment had been permitted to go over and join the British forces ; and added, that he saw no reason why the same privilege should not be allowed to other officers, in regard to the Americans, who were an independent people, and contending for just principles. Indeed, this had already been done in the case of Duportail and three other engineers belonging to the king's army, who had obtained special permission to enter the American service. These reasons and precedents, he thought, would justify him in asking the same permission. To his family he wrote that his resolution was fixed, and he hoped they would aid his views. As to his oath of allegiance, he observed to some of his correspondents, that when the ministers should be faithful to the people, they might, with a better grace, talk about a violation of an oath to the government. This hint got to the ears of the ministers, and gave offence.

In short, he had little hope of succeeding in his petition ; and he accordingly wrote to M. Cogný, a particular friend, very intimate at court, requesting him to watch

carefully what passed; and, should he be convinced a prohibition would be issued against his American plan, to let him know it with all possible despatch. He sent a trusty courier to Versailles, who speedily came back with a letter from Cognay, informing him that there was much excitement against him at court; that the British ambassador had made strong representations, and there was not the remotest prospect of receiving a favorable reply.

Lafayette lost no time in taking the course on which he had already resolved. He intimated to the commandant, that he would proceed to Marseilles—and commenced the journey. An officer by the name of Mauroy, who wished to visit America, was his companion. They entered the carriage together; but as soon as they left the environs of Bordeaux, Lafayette disguised himself in the dress of a courier, mounted a horse, and rode forward to procure relays at the post-houses. They soon diverged from the road to Marseilles, and took the direction to Bayonne. In that city they were obliged to stop for two or three hours. While Mauroy executed some important commission of business, Lafayette lay on the straw in the stable. Fresh horses were procured, and they continued their route, Lafayette still preserving the costume and character of a courier. At the little village of St. Jean de Luz, while calling for horses, he was detected by the daughter of the man who kept the post-house: she had seen him, a few days before, on his way from Passage to Bordeaux. He made a signal to the girl to keep silence, which she understood; and when Lafayette's pursuers came up, and inquired if such a person had passed, she was faithful to the signal; replying, that a carriage had gone along, but it contained no such person as they described. This answer occasioned much uncertainty as to the object of their pursuit; and it is believed to have been the cause of his not being overtaken by them before he reached his vessel at Passage. A favorable wind wafted him quickly to sea. Baron de Kalb and eleven other officers, of different ranks, seeking service in America, constituted his retinue.

His time was employed, on the voyage, as far as a severe attack of sea-sickness would permit, in studying

the English language and reading books on military tactics. The ship's papers were taken out for the French Islands in the West Indies, and the captain sailed in that direction. While on the voyage, Lafayette told him that it was his intention to run directly for the coast of America. This was promptly declined by the captain, on the ground that the papers protected the ship only to the French Islands; and should they be taken by the English, in attempting to go into an American port, they would all inevitably be sent prisoners to Halifax, and detained in captivity, no one could tell how long. This was a dilemma which Lafayette had not anticipated; and he finally told the captain that the vessel was his property; that every person on board run an equal risk; that he was determined, at all hazards, to sail, by the shortest course, to the American coast; and that, if he refused to put the vessel upon that track, he would deprive him of the command and give it to the next officer. The captain acceded, but with a reluctance which made Lafayette suspect there were other motives beside personal apprehension; and he found, on inquiry, that the captain had goods in the ship, to the amount of eight thousand dollars. When this was known, he offered a pledge of security, that, in case they should be captured and the cargo lost, he would pay this amount to the captain, although the goods had been put on board without his authority. He also feared, what proved to be true, that orders would be sent to the West Indies to arrest them.

At some distance from the coast, a privateer was described making towards them. It was supposed to be English, and hasty preparations were made for defence; but it proved to be American, and no molestation was offered. Land was soon discovered, and they approached the shore near Georgetown, in South Carolina, having fortunately escaped two British cruisers. The same strong northeasterly wind which brought the French vessel to the coast, had driven the cruisers to the south, and thus left an open passage for that vessel, which otherwise would probably have been captured.

It was dark before they came so near the shore as to be able to land. Lafayette and some of the officers entered the ship's boat, which was rowed to the beach.

Here they debarked, and a distant light served to guide them. When they arrived near the house whence the light proceeded, the dogs growled and barked, and the people within supposed them to be a party of marauders from the enemy's vessels. Before gaining admittance, it was demanded of them who they were and what they wanted. Baron de Kalb was their interpreter, he having before been in America, and acquired some facility in speaking the English language. At length, suspicions were removed, and the strangers were received with a cordial welcome and a generous hospitality. Lafayette retired to rest, rejoiced that he had at last attained the haven of his wishes, and was safely landed in America, beyond the reach of his pursuers. The next morning was beautiful. The novelty of every thing around him, the room, the bed with mosquito curtains, the black servants who came to ascertain his wants, the beauty and strange appearance of the country, as he saw it from his window, clothed in luxuriant verdure; all conspired to produce a magical effect, and to impress him with indescribable sensations. He found himself in the house of Major Huger, a gentleman not more remarkable for his hospitality, than for his worth and highly respectable character. Major Huger provided horses to convey him and his companions to Charleston. The vessel likewise went into Charleston harbor.

Thus Lafayette, having escaped all danger of being arrested in his bold and heroic enterprize, landed at last on the shores of freedom and independence, so fully in accordance with his noble character.

CHAPTER V.

Lafayette's letter to his wife—First arrival of Lafayette at the Congress at Philadelphia—Interview with Washington—Lafayette in the American camp—Battle of Brandywine, in which he was wounded—His stay in Philadelphia—He joins the army—Attack on Germantown—Camp at Valley Forge, December, 1777.

LAFAYETTE'S first letter from America to his beloved and accomplished wife will explain his situation and feelings at this time.

CHARLESTON, 19th June, 1777.

"My last letter to you, my dear love, has informed you, that I arrived safely in this country, after having suffered a little from sea-sickness during the first weeks of the voyage; that I was then, the morning after I landed, at the house of a very kind officer; that I had been nearly two months on the passage, and that I wished to set off immediately. It spoke of almost every thing most interesting to my heart: of my sorrow of parting from you and our dear children; and it said, besides, that I was in excellent health. I give you this abstract of it, because the English may possibly amuse themselves by seizing it on its way. I have such confidence in my lucky star, however, that I hope it will reach you. This star has befriended me, to the astonishment of every body here. Trust to it yourself, and be assured that it ought to calm all your fears. I landed after having sailed several days along the coast, which swarmed with hostile vessels. When I arrived, every body said that my vessel must inevitably be taken, since two British frigates blockaded the harbor. I even went so far as to send orders to the captain, both by land and sea, to put the men on shore and set fire to the ship, if not yet too late. By a most wonderful good fortune, a gale obliged the frigates to stand out to sea for a short time. My vessel came in at noon-day, without meeting a friend or foe.

"At Charlestown I have met Gen. Howe, an American officer now in the service. The governor of the state is expected this evening from the country. All with whom I wished to become acquainted here, have shown me the greatest politeness and attention. I feel

entirely satisfied with my reception, although I have not thought it best to go into any detail respecting my arrangements and plans. I wish first to see congress. I hope to set out for Philadelphia in two days. Our route is more than two hundred and fifty leagues by land. We shall divide ourselves into small parties. I have already purchased horses and light carriages for the journey. Some French and American vessels are here, and are to sail together to-morrow morning, taking advantage of a moment when the frigates are out of sight. They are armed, and have promised me to defend themselves stoutly against the small privateers, which they will certainly meet. I shall distribute my letters among the different ships.

"I will now tell you about the country and its inhabitants. They are as agreeable as my enthusiasm had painted them. Simplicity of manners, kindness, love of country and of liberty, and a delightful equality, every where prevail. The wealthiest man and the poorest are on a level; and, although there are some large fortunes, I challenge any one to discover the slightest difference between the manners of these two classes, respectively, towards each other. I first saw the country life at the house of Major Huger. I am now in the city, where every thing is very much after the English fashion, except that there is more simplicity, equality, cordiality, and courtesy, here, than in England. The city of Charleston is one of the handsomest and best built, and its inhabitants among the most agreeable, that I have ever seen. The American women are very pretty, simple in their manners, and exhibit a neatness which is every where cultivated even more studiously than in England. What most charms me is, that all the citizens are brethren. In America, there are no poor, nor even what we call peasantry. Each individual has his own honest property, and the same rights as the most wealthy landed proprietor. The inns are very different from those of Europe; the host and hostess sit at table with you and do the honors of a comfortable meal; and, on going away, you pay your bill without higgling. When one does not wish to go to an inn, there are country houses where the title of a good American is a sufficient passport to all those civilities paid in Europe to one's friend.

"As to my own reception, it has been most agreeable in every quarter; and to have come with me secures the most flattering welcome. I have just passed five hours at a grand dinner, given in honor of me, by an individual of this city. Generals Howe and Moultrie, and several officers of my suite, were present. We drank healths and tried to talk English. I begin to speak it a little. To-morrow I shall go with these gentlemen to call on the governor of the state, and make arrangements for my departure. The next day the commanding officers here, will show me the city and its environs, and then I shall set out for the army.

"Considering the pleasant life I lead in this country, my sympathy with the people, which makes me feel as much at ease in their society as if I had known them for twenty years, the similarity between their mode of thinking and my own, and my love of liberty and of glory, one might suppose that I am very happy. But you are not with me; my friends are not with me; and there is no happiness for me, far from you and them. I ask you, if you still love me? but I put the same question much oftener to myself, and my heart always responds, Yes. I am impatient, beyond measure, to hear from you. I hope to find letters at Philadelphia. My only fear is, that the privateer which is to bring them, may be captured on her passage. Although I suppose I have drawn upon me the special displeasure of the English, by taking the liberty to depart in spite of them, and by landing in their very face, yet I confess they will not be in arrears with me, should they capture this vessel, my cherished hope, on which I so fondly depend for letters from you. Write frequently and long letters. You do not know the full extent of joy with which I shall receive them. Embrace Henrietta tenderly. May I say, embrace tenderly *our children*? The father of these poor children is a rover, but a good and honest man at heart; a good father, who loves his family dearly, and a good husband, who loves his wife with all his heart.

"Remember me to your friends and my own, to the dear society of the court; but which, by the lapse of time, has become the society of the *wooden sword*. We republicans think it all the better. I must leave off for want of paper and time; and if I do not repeat to you

ten thousand times that I love you, it is not from any want of feeling, but from modesty; since I have the presumption to hope, that I have already convinced you of it. The night is far advanced, and the heat dreadful. I am devoured by insects; so you see, the best countries have their disadvantages. Adieu.

“LAFAYETTE.”

All things being in readiness, the party left Charleston and travelled to Philadelphia, with as much expedition as the weather and the badness of the roads would permit. They visited Gov. Caswell, in North Carolina, and stopped a short time at Annapolis, in Maryland. Here they became acquainted with Major Brice, to whom they had a letter from Carmichael, and who was afterwards Lafayette's aid-de-camp. The vessel had been left at Charleston, where it was loaded with rice for the French market. It foundered in going out of the harbor, and both the vessel and cargo were lost.

When Lafayette arrived in Philadelphia, he put his letters into the hands of Mr. Lovell, chairman of the committee of foreign affairs. He called the next day at the hall of congress, and Mr. Lovell came out to him and said, that so many foreigners had offered themselves for employment, that congress was embarrassed with their applications, and he was sorry to inform him there was very little hope of his success. Lafayette suspected his papers had not been read, and he immediately sat down and wrote a note to the president of congress, in which he desired to be permitted to serve in the American army on two conditions; first, that he should receive no pay; secondly, that he should act as a volunteer. These terms were so different from those demanded by other foreigners, and presented so few obstacles on the ground of an interference with American officers, that they were at once accepted. His rank, zeal, perseverance, and disinterestedness, overcame every objection, and he was appointed a major general in the American army, more than a month before he had reached the age of twenty.

Washington was expected shortly in Philadelphia, and the young general concluded to await his arrival before he went to head-quarters. The first introduction was at a dinner party, where several members of congress were

present. When they were about to separate, Washington took Lafayette aside, spoke to him very kindly, complimented him upon the noble spirit he had shown and the sacrifices he had made in favor of the American cause, and then told him, that he should be pleased if he would make the quarters of the commander-in-chief his home, establish himself there whenever he thought proper, and consider himself at all times as one of his family; adding, in a tone of pleasantry, that he could not promise him the luxuries of a court, or even the conveniences which his former habits might have rendered essential to his comfort; but, since he had become an American soldier, he would doubtless contrive to accommodate himself to the character he had assumed, and submit with a good grace to the customs, manners, and privations, of a republican army. If Lafayette was made happy by his success with congress, his joy was redoubled by this flattering proof of friendship and regard on the part of the commander-in-chief. His horses and equipage were immediately sent to camp, and ever afterwards, even when he had the command of a division, he kept up his intimacy at head-quarters, and enjoyed all the advantages of a member of the general's family. The day after the dinner, Washington inspected the fortifications on the Delaware river, and invited Lafayette to accompany him.

Lafayette would not accept any commission, nor receive any pay; and when Washington urged him to assume that rank in the army which congress had conferred upon him, the young marquis modestly answered, "that he was not as yet capable of discharging the duties of such a post; that he must begin by being instructed himself, and by learning to obey, before he took upon himself to command;" adding, "that he would, with the permission of the commander-in-chief, act as a volunteer; and when he should have given proofs, by his services, that he merited a commission, he would be ready to receive that honor; that he wished to conduct himself, in every respect, as an American citizen, and was only desirous to follow the example of Gen. Washington, in every situation, whether in war or in peace."

This reply increased the regard of the commander-in-chief, and the affection of all his comrades.

The young marquis, on his arrival at the camp, examined every thing with the greatest attention, conversed with and questioned the officers and soldiers, joined in their labors, accepted the frequent invitations he received, and acquired many friends by his mild, frank, easy, and prepossessing manners and generosity.

Gen. Washington, who had been apprized of the expected arrival of Admiral Howe, with a fleet and considerable reinforcements from England, was much embarrassed on account of the great delay in forwarding stores of every kind, of which his army was in the utmost need.

Lafayette, understanding this, gave Washington sixty thousand francs, to procure requisite supplies. Washington, much affected by such generosity, with tears of joy, embraced his son. He was thereby enabled to break up his camp and march to the south, in order to effect a junction with Gen. Greene at New-York.

At the battle of Brandywine, Lafayette engaged in the hottest part of the action, exposed himself to danger, and exhibited a conspicuous example of coolness and courage. While the troops were retreating in disorder, he dismounted, entered the ranks, and endeavored to rally them. As he was performing this service, a musket-ball passed through his leg; but the wound did not retard his efforts, till his aid told him that the blood was running from his boot; and then he mounted his horse. He met a surgeon in the rear, who put a slight bandage round his leg, and he rode to Chester. The soldiers, in the mean time, were retreating in a hurried and straggling manner; and, regardless of himself, his first precaution was to place a guard near the bridge, at the entrance of the village, with orders to stop all the retreating soldiers at that place. His wound was then dressed, and the next morning he was taken to Philadelphia. The following letter to his wife was written the day after the action.

“PHILADELPHIA, 10th September, 1777.

“I write you a few words, my dear love, by some French officers who came over with me, but who, not receiving any appointment in the army, are about returning to France. I begin by telling you that I am well, because I must end by telling you that we fought yester-

day in good earnest, and that we were not the stronger party. The Americans, after a long and brave resistance, were at last routed. As I was attempting to rally them, the English honored me with a musket-ball, which wounded me slightly in the leg; but this is nothing; the ball touched neither bone nor artery, and I shall escape without further inconvenience, than having to keep my bed for some time, a thing which puts me out of humor. I hope you will not be alarmed: indeed, this is a reason why you should be less so than before, since it keeps me from the field for some time, as I intend to take good care of myself; be very sure of it.

"I think this affair will lead to unpleasant consequences, which we must try to repair. You must have received many letters from me, unless the English bear the same spite to my letters as to my legs. I have as yet received only one from you, and I long for news. Adieu. I am forbidden to write longer at present. For some days past, I have not had time for sleep; the last night was employed in our retreat and in my journey to this place, where I am very well taken care of. Let my friends know that I am well. Many tender regards to Madame d'Ayen; many compliments to my sisters. The officers will depart shortly; they will see you: how happy they are. Good night: I love you more than ever.

"LAFAYETTE."

From Philadelphia he proceeded to Bristol. Mr. Henry Laurens, on his way to Yorktown, after the adjournment of congress, took the route through Bristol, and conveyed Lafayette in his carriage to Bethlehem. This act of kindness was long remembered. When Laurens was a prisoner in the tower of London, the Marchioness de Lafayette wrote a touching letter in his behalf to the Count de Vergennes, recounting his deeds of humanity and benevolence to the marquis, and soliciting the aid of the French court to procure his release. Lafayette remained at Bethlehem about two months, till his wound was sufficiently healed to enable him to join the army, and a few days afterwards he was placed at the head of a division.

Gen. Washington was making every effort to cover

Philadelphia, and represented to congress, immediately after the battle of Brandywine, the distressed situation of the army. That body had recommended to the executive of Pennsylvania, to appoint discreet persons to take possession of all the necessaries for the use of the army, which might be found in any stores or warehouses in the city of Philadelphia. But the executive advised rather that the extraordinary powers of the commander-in-chief should be resorted to on the occasion. In consequence of this opinion, Lieut. Col. Hamilton, one of the general's aids, a young gentleman already in high estimation for his talents and zeal, was employed on this interesting and delicate business.

All the efforts, however, of this very active officer, could not obtain a supply in any degree adequate to the pressing and increasing wants of the army.

Hamilton and Lafayette, who was then wounded and brought to Philadelphia, were warm friends; and here the former showed him great attention, and a friendship was formed which ceased only with Hamilton's unhappy death.

The want of every thing in the American army, and the very heavy rain of the 16th of September, were the most powerful allies to the British. The condition to which the Americans were reduced by the rain, having compelled them to move up the Schuylkill, and thus open to Gen. Howe the way to Philadelphia; Lord Cornwallis, at the head of the British and Hessian grenadiers, entered this capital on the 27th of September. The members of congress separated on the 18th, in the evening, and reassembled at Lancaster, on the 27th of the same month.

Lafayette, who still served as a volunteer, impatient to be again in the field, remained at Bethlehem about two months, and then set out to join Gen. Greene, in New-Jersey; where, obtaining the command of a body of militia, he, together with Col. Butler, who had about the same number of a rifle corps under him, advanced to reconnoitre the enemy's position: on their route, they fell in with a detachment, consisting of about three hundred English and Hessian regular troops. An action instantly took place, in which the British were totally routed, with a loss of twenty or thirty killed, and a great num-

ber wounded ; they were driven quite into their camp. Gen. Greene, speaking of this encounter, said : " The marquis seemed to search for danger, and was charmed with the behavior of his men." " I found the riflemen," said Lafayette, in his letter to Washington, " superior even to *their own* high reputation, and the militia above all expectations I could have formed of them."

Washington ordered Gen. Greene to lose no further time in Jersey, but immediately to re-cross the Delaware and join the grand army. He transmitted to congress, under his own hand, an account of this victory, and Lafayette was promoted to the command of a division, consisting of twelve hundred young men, which shortly afterwards was increased to two thousand, the flower of the American army, whom the general formed and disciplined himself. He scarcely allowed himself time necessary for sleep and refreshment, so zealous was he in discharging the duties of his office. He has declared to me, that he never felt himself so truly happy as when surrounded by his *friends*, meaning those who were under his immediate command, and by whom he was unusually beloved and respected. It was on this occasion, that his liberality had so reduced his funds, that he was obliged to write to France to procure supplies. One day, while he was inspecting the camp, he perceived a man miserably dressed, seated at the foot of a tree, his face covered with his hands, and elbows resting on his knees, so profoundly immersed in deep melancholy, that he did not perceive the approach of the general, who stopped some minutes to observe him ; and hearing him sigh, he inquired the cause of his grief, with a tone of voice and sweetness peculiar to himself. The man informed him that he had recently joined the army, and had left a young wife and two little children, who depended entirely on his industry for support ; and that the forlorn condition of his family did not allow him a moment's peace. The general inquired his address, and told him not to distress himself ; that his family should be provided for— which promise was faithfully kept.

A month after, when his new corps had become a little disciplined, he presented each of the officers of his division with an elegant sword and belt, and clothed, armed, and equipped, his two thousand soldiers, at his own expense.

After the bloody attack on the royalists, in their camp at Germantown, by Washington, which was unsuccessful, and the various engagements on the shores of the Delaware, the result of this campaign amounted only to the possession of Philadelphia; of a city abandoned by the greater part of its inhabitants, and the submission of the country for twenty miles round.

In the month of December, Washington encamped his army twenty-five miles from Philadelphia, at a place called Valley Forge, from whence they could observe the movements of the enemy.

CHAPTER VI.

Campaign of 1778—Treaty between France and America—Projected expedition against Canada—Barren-hill—Challenge given by Lafayette to Lord Carlisle—Evacuation of Philadelphia—Retreat of Gen. Clinton—Battle of Monmouth—Arrival of the French fleet under D'Estaing—Expedition against Rhode-Island—Thanks of Congress expressed to Lafayette.

IN describing the events of the revolutionary war, we shall confine ourselves, principally, to those in which Gen. Lafayette was actively engaged: the others we leave to the consideration of the general historian.

France received the news of the capitulation of the entire army of Gen. Burgoyne to Gen. Gates, at Saratoga, on the 17th of October, 1777. Not till then was she induced to conceive very sanguine hopes of the ultimate success of the American revolution; but she now deemed it expedient to espouse and assist the cause of the young republic. In conformity with these views, a treaty of alliance, amity, and commerce, was concluded at Paris, on the 6th of February, 1778, between the French minister, Count de Vergennes, on the part of France, and Dr. Franklin, Arthur Lee, and Silas Deane, on the part of the United States.

Lafayette, in his letters to his friends in France, had constantly given very favorable accounts of the progress of the American cause: and these had ever exerted an obvious influence on the proceedings of the French court, contributing, in no small degree, to bring to a happy conclusion this negotiation, which had now been pending

since December, 1776. He was among the first who received the news of the treaty, and could not deny himself the pleasure of being the bearer, in person, of this agreeable intelligence to the commander-in-chief. As soon as it became generally known throughout the camp, it was followed by the most lively demonstrations of joy; and our young hero was surrounded by crowds, unable to express the affectionate regard with which his conduct had inspired them. Gen. Washington assembled the brigades, and public thanksgivings were every where offered up to heaven, in discourses adapted to the occasion. The camp resounded with the joyful discharge of cannon, and at a given signal, the whole army cried out at once, Long live the king of France! The ardor of their joy called forth new exertions on the part of the people, to bring in their respective quotas, and to supply the army with the requisite necessaries.

While the deficiency of the public resources, arising from the alarming depreciation of the bills of credit, which were issued in great quantities, without being supported by taxes, manifested itself in all the military departments, a plan was matured in congress, and in the board of war, without consulting the general-in-chief, for a second irruption into Canada. It was proposed to place the Marquis de La Fayette* at the head of this expedition, and to employ generals Conway and Starke as the second and third in command.

Without any previous information that such an expedition was contemplated, Gen. Washington received a letter from the president of the board of war, of the 27th January, 1778, inclosing one of the same date to the marquis, requiring the immediate attendance of that nobleman at Philadelphia, to receive his instructions. No other communication was made to the commander-in-chief, than to request that he would furnish Colonel Hazen's regiment, chiefly composed of Canadians, for the expedition;

* This young nobleman, possessing an excellent heart, and all the military enthusiasm of his country, had left France early in 1777, ostensibly in opposition to the will of his sovereign, to engage in the service of the United States. His high rank, and supposed influence at the court of Versailles, soon secured him the unlimited respect of his countrymen in America; and, added to his frankness of manners and zeal in their cause, recommended him very strongly to congress. While the claims of others of the same country were so exorbitant, that they could not be gratified on the subject of rank, he demanded no station in the army, would consent to receive no compensation, and offered to serve as a volunteer. [Marshall's Life of Washington.]

and in the same letter, his advice and opinion were asked respecting it. The north was relied on for furnishing the force with which the plan was to be executed. Orders were given to Colonel Hazen's regiment to march towards Albany, and the marquis immediately proceeded to the seat of congress. When he was informed of being appointed commander-in-chief in the north—a command, which a stupid cabal against Washington had succeeded in making independent of that great man—Lafayette refused, decidedly, to accept the appointment, but on the express condition of being subordinate to him. The friendship and fidelity of Lafayette for Washington, at that period, so critical for the latter, was both determined and useful, and increased the commander-in-chief's friendship to the marquis. This condition being granted, Major Gen. Baron de Kalb was added to the expedition; after which he repaired in person to Albany, in order to take charge of the troops who were to assemble at that place, in order to cross the lakes on the ice, and to attack Montreal.

On his arrival at Albany, he found no preparations made for the expedition. Nothing which had been promised was in readiness. He therefore abandoned the enterprize as totally impracticable. Some time after, congress, also, determined on its relinquishment; and Gen. Washington was authorized to recall both the Marquis de La Fayette and the Baron de Kalb.

Lafayette, though but twenty years of age, possessed sufficient self-control to withstand temptations so flattering to a young and gallant officer, in the dangerous possession of independent command. The rectitude of his principles, and the soundness of his judgment, would not allow him to be carried away by the love of glory, under circumstances in which a blind precipitation would have materially injured the cause he had so zealously espoused. He was fully aware, that, if he advanced, the army under his command would be exposed to dangers similar to those which resulted in the capture of Gen. Burgoyne; and, accordingly, with all the wisdom and discretion of an experienced veteran, he abandoned the expedition; and very soon after, received the thanks of congress, who acknowledged the prudence and propriety

of his conduct. Lafayette joined, soon after, General Washington's army.

The English, who had flattered themselves that they could easily accomplish the destruction of Gen. Washington and his army, were astonished, when informed of the little success which attended all their united efforts both by sea and land. What an ignominious lesson for those haughty islanders, who designated the commander-in-chief by the title of Mr. Washington,* and termed all the Americans *insurgents* and *rebels*, to find themselves compelled to allow this same Mr. Washington and his handful of *rebels*, to encamp themselves at the short distance of twenty-five miles from Philadelphia, at a place called Valley Forge, and this, in the course of December of the same year. When we consider that the feeble army of the Americans was very ill provided with tents, that it was destitute of provisions, that the greater part of the soldiers were barefooted, had neither blankets, nor even uniform or clothing, we are astonished to find that such an army took up its winter quarters in log houses, and that it should have remained there throughout the winter, despising dangers, fatigues, privations, and miseries of every kind. But our surprise is increased, when we remember that in this manner it approached an enemy far superior in number, and supplied with ammunition of every sort.

Indeed, it was absolutely necessary for Generals Washington and Lafayette, as well as all the other American officers, to maintain at least the appearance of cheerfulness. They accordingly mixed in all the pastimes of the army, and made every sacrifice imaginable, in order to amuse the soldiers. General Lafayette, at his own expense, caused a large quantity of articles to be bought, of which the army stood in need. General Washington, for the purpose of enlivening the camp, invited his lady to come and take part in their festivities; the rest of the officers did the same; so that in a short time the interior of the American camp exhibited a scene where joy and gaiety buried all past and present sufferings in oblivion.

* Admiral Lord Howe and his brother Sir William, shortly after their junction at Sandy Hook, (July, 1777,) despatched two letters, one after the other, addressed to George Washington, *Esquire*, which were very properly returned unopened.

These patriotic women encouraged their husbands and lovers in their noble enterprise, and exerted themselves to the utmost, to conceal from them the uneasiness and grief, which their approaching separation, and the dangers which awaited them, excited, in order that sorrow should not overcloud this transient enjoyment of their society. Indeed, the citizens of the ancient republics of Rome and Greece could not surpass, in courage, love of country, resignation, and the sublimer virtues, these new heroes of the American republic.

The resignation and patience of this little army surmounted every difficulty. In the midst of penury, hunger, and extreme cold, it patiently waited for supplies, which arrived but very slowly, notwithstanding all the exertions made by the authorities of the states. The commissary department was so badly managed, and want of horses and carriages was so great, that the soldiers constructed little wagons which they could manage themselves, while others carried fuel and provisions on their shoulders.

General Washington informed the commissioners deputed by congress to wait upon him, and to examine personally the situation of the army, that several brigades had been for days without meat, and that the soldiers had frequently come themselves to his quarters, to acquaint him with their wants; that, at one period, the last ration in the commissary's possession had been delivered and consumed; and that, not possessing materials proper to raise the barracks from the earth, the damp which struck through their straw beds, and the foul air they breathed, was occasioning excessive mortality among the soldiers. Nothing, indeed, observed one of the commissioners to congress, could exceed their sufferings, except the patience with which the army supported them.

Although the American army continued in this wretched condition from December till May, the enemy never made a single attack upon them in all that time.

It required all the energy of soul, and high and noble qualities, which at all times distinguished Washington, to support him under these accumulated difficulties; besides which, he had to contend with secret enemies, who either feared or envied him. The apparent indifference with which he regarded these intrigues, enabled him to tri-

umph over them; and they and their supporters have long since sunk into merited oblivion. His moderation towards the disaffected inhabitants, for which he was then blamed by the other party, brought over a vast number to his side. Admiration of his virtues won many, who rendered him great services. It was at such moments of difficulty and danger, that he would unbosom himself to his beloved Lafayette, from whom he kept no secrets.

Many leading men expressed fears, that Washington, after he had freed America from English fetters, would become its enslaver in his own person; and his authority was limited in consequence of these unworthy suspicions. Lafayette was very active, and used every means in his power to allay them. His own calmness and disinterestedness, and his acknowledged worth, gave him much influence over the persons who entertained such sentiments; and his exertions contributed greatly towards the re-establishment of affairs, which were beginning to suffer from disunion and jealousies.

The vast frontiers of the north were guarded by only one thousand men, who were, in no respect, a match for the regulars and militia of the enemy, to say nothing of the savages, those faithful allies of civilized England. On the other hand, Washington's army was much reduced, and the greater part were still sick; and, with such forces, he had to oppose eighteen thousand soldiers, fully armed and equipped, under the command of an experienced leader. Notwithstanding all these disadvantages, he had chosen so commanding a position, that the enemy never ventured to attack him in his winter quarters at Valley Forge.

Congress had given orders to obstruct the passage of the Delaware, by every possible means, to prevent the enemy's sending any supplies whatever, into Philadelphia by water: it had, besides, ordered the construction of new vessels, to increase its naval forces. But when the English had taken possession of the river, several of these vessels were not finished, and Washington did his utmost to save them. Those intrusted with this commission, made many holes in them, in order to fill them with water, and sink them, in case the enemy were likely to take them. But a strong English detachment was soon afterwards sent to Bordentown, to destroy these vessels, as well as various military stores, which executed its

commission before the Americans, detained by heavy rains, could arrive to save them.

To cover the country effectually, on the north of the Schuylkill, and to restrain the parties, detached in various directions from Philadelphia, who most generally effected their object, and returned before they could be opposed by the army lying at Valley Forge; to form an advance guard, for the security of the main army, and to be in readiness to annoy, if practicable, the rear of the enemy, should they evacuate Philadelphia—an event which a variety of circumstances combined to render probable was in contemplation; the Marquis de La Fayette was detached with more than two thousand choice troops, and a few pieces of cannon, to take post near the lines. As this corps formed a very valuable part of the army, the instructions of the general recommended the utmost attention to its safety, and particularly advised him to avoid any permanent station, since a long continuance in one position would enable the enemy to concert their measures successfully against him.

With this detachment the marquis crossed the Schuylkill, and took post at Barren-hill, about eight or ten miles in front of the army at Valley Forge. Immediate notice of his arrival was given to Sir William Howe, who reconnoitred his position, and formed a plan to surprise and cut him off. In execution of this plan, on the night of the 19th of May, Gen. Grant, with five thousand select troops, took the road which leads up the Delaware, and consequently diverges from Barren-hill. After marching along this road some distance, he inclined to the left, and passing by White-marsh, where several roads unite, took one leading to the position he was directed to occupy, something more than a mile in the rear of the marquis, between him and Valley Forge. He reached his point of destination about sun-rise, on the morning of the 20th, entirely undiscovered. Here the roads fork; the one leading to the camp of Lafayette, and the other to Matson's fort, over the Schuylkill. In the course of the night, Gen. Grey, with a strong detachment, had advanced along the south side of the Schuylkill, and taken post at a ford, two or three miles in front of the right flank of Lafayette, while the residue of the army encamped on Chesnut-hill.

Thus perilous was the situation of the marquis, when he first discovered the danger which threatened him. It was, about the same time, perceived from the camp at Valley Forge. Alarm guns were fired to announce it to him, and the whole army was put under arms to act as circumstances might require. Thus surrounded with danger, Lafayette adopted, with promptitude and decision, the only course which could have preserved him. He put his troops instantly in motion, and passed over at Matson's fort, which was rather nearer to Gen. Grant than himself, without being intercepted by that officer, or sustaining a greater loss than nine men.

Having crossed the river, and taken possession of the high grounds, he sent back a small party to bring over his field pieces, which were also secured. Gen. Grant, who had reached the ground lately occupied by Lafayette, soon after it was abandoned, followed his rear, and appeared at the ford just after the Americans had crossed it; but finding them advantageously posted, he did not choose to attack them; and the whole army returned to Philadelphia, having effected nothing.

In the statement of this affair, made by Gen. Lafayette, he represents himself to have advanced the head of a column towards Grant, as if to attack him, while the rear filed off rapidly towards the Schuylkill. This movement gained ground even for the front, which, while it advanced towards the enemy, also approached the river, and at the same time induced Gen. Grant to halt, in order to prepare for battle.

While this manœuvre was performing in the face of the detachment under Grant, a small party was thrown into the church-yard, which was surrounded by a wall, on the road towards Gen. Gray, which also gave the appearance of intention to attack in that quarter. By these dispositions, happily conceived, and executed with regularity, the marquis extricated himself and his troops from the destruction which had appeared almost inevitable.

In his letter to congress, Gen. Washington termed this retreat, "a timely and handsome one;" and, certainly, the compliment was merited.

On the fourth of June, the Earl of Carlisle, Sir Wm. Eden, and Governor Johnstone, arrived from England, with authority, as the king's commissioners, to negotiate

a peace between Great Britain and America ; and Lord Howe joined the commission. Dr. Ferguson was the secretary of this commission. The overtures of England were rejected, on the 17th of June, by the American congress, who exhibited, throughout the whole progress of these negotiations, the utmost dignity, courage, and decision.

The English ministerial despatches contained several offensive insinuations, respecting the intentions and policy of France, which not only met with the pointed disapprobation of the American people, but exasperated the young marquis to such a degree, that, as soon as he heard of them, he conceived himself bound, in honor, to call Lord Carlisle, the president of the board of commissioners, to a personal rencontre, and left to him the choice of arms.

This procedure, which, on any other occasion, would have been regarded as the bravado of an indiscreet young man, was not altogether useless. The Americans were not yet well acquainted with the character of the French ; they had been habituated, by the prejudices of education, to look upon them as much inferior to the English, in personal courage ; and it was well enough to show that a Frenchman was not at all afraid to meet an Englishman on equal terms. It contributed, also, to diminish, in some degree, the importance of the commissioners, in the eyes of the people, and give them a higher idea of the prowess and attachment of their new allies. The irregularity of the procedure was, however, sufficiently obvious, and it was agreed, that Lord Carlisle could not, as commissioner, accept the challenge, although it was acknowledged that the marquis was called upon to send it. It was accordingly refused.

As information had been received, that France would shortly send a body of auxiliary forces to America, the English commissioners, fearful of the event, despatched Sir William Eden, with instructions to Gen. Clinton to evacuate Philadelphia, forthwith, with all his troops, and to fall back to New-York, without a moment's delay.

Gen. Lafayette distinguished himself in the battle of Monmouth, (28th of June,) and it was the general opinion, that if he had retained the command, which he was obliged to resign to Gen. Lee, as the senior officer, the

result would have proved far more disastrous to the British army. So much was Lee's behavior in the battle of Monmouth, and after it, disapproved of, that a court-martial was called, over which Lord Stirling presided; and he was sentenced to be suspended for one year.

Washington sent Lafayette, with two thousand men, from New Jersey, to strengthen Gen. Sullivan, and to co-operate with him in the reduction of Rhode-Island; while Gen. Greene was directed to proceed towards Providence and Tiverton, to attack the English army, then stationed at Newport, six thousand strong, under the command of Gen. Pigot.

On the 8th of August, Count d'Estaing entered the harbor with all his squadron, having heard that the English general, on the 5th, had ordered four frigates, and several smaller vessels of war, then lying at anchor, to be destroyed, to prevent their falling into his hands.

On the morning of the 9th, Gen. Sullivan embarked, with his entire army, at Tiverton, and sailed for Rhode-Island, having been informed that the enemy had evacuated the fortifications, situated at the northern extremity of the island. The same day Lord Howe made his appearance, not far from Point Judith, with a squadron consisting of twenty-five vessels of war.

As soon as d'Estaing was informed of this, he left Newport with a determination to bring him to action. Shortly after the two fleets came in sight of each other, a storm arose, and did so much damage to several vessels of both squadrons, that they were considered unfit for action. The French fleet was obliged to sail for the nearest port, and, on the 22d, bent its course toward Boston, there to undergo the necessary repairs. Previous to this, however, Generals Lafayette and Greene went on board of the admiral's ship, the *Languedoc*, with a letter from General Sullivan, remonstrating against this resolution, and used every argument to induce him to change it. They represented to him the certainty of carrying the garrison, if he would only co-operate with them for two days. The plan they proposed, was, to land on the southern part of the island, within all the works erected for defence, against which their present operations were directed; a measure which would very much abridge the duration of the siege, but which could not be attempted

without the aid of the fleet. They pressed strongly on him the importance of this event to France as well as to America. They added a great many observations; but the Count d'Estaing continued immovable in the determination he had formed, and finally sailed for Boston.

At a subsequent period, when rehearsing this conversation, Gen. Greene stated, that the principal officers on board the fleet, were the enemies of d'Estaing. He was, properly, a land officer, and they were dissatisfied with his appointment to command them in the navy. They were, therefore, determined to thwart his measures, and to prevent, wherever it could be justified, his achieving any brilliant exploit, which might redound to his reputation. In this temper, they availed themselves of the letter of his instructions, and unanimously persevered in advising him to relinquish the enterprise, and sail for Boston. He could not venture, with such instructions, to act against their unanimous opinions; and although he seemed himself disposed to re-enter the harbor, yet, under their influence, he declined doing so, and sailed from the island.

A second attempt to recall the fleet, was made by Gen. Sullivan, who sent Col. Lawrence, with an urgent letter to the French admiral, under sail, but in vain.

Gen. Sullivan, destitute of provisions, abandoned by a great part of his volunteers, and deprived of the protection of a naval force, found himself under the necessity of evacuating Rhode-Island. He took his measures accordingly. On the 26th he embarked his artillery, and evacuated his intrenchments on the 28th. On that day a council of war was held, in which it was resolved to retire to the northern extremity of the island, keeping open their communication with the main land, and to occupy his position until it should be ascertained, whether or not the French fleet would return to support them.

They were thus tenacious of the ground they had gained, in the hope that d'Estaing might yet return in time to accomplish the object of the expedition. To prevail on him to do so, Gen. Hancock and the Marquis de Lafayette repaired to Boston; the former to expedite the repairs of the vessels, and the latter to use the influence, which his high rank and character gave him with the admiral. He immediately mounted his horse, and such was

his zeal and diligence, that he rode from Rhode-Island to Boston, a distance of seventy miles, in seven hours, called on the count, and left no means untried to induce him to return immediately. The French admiral, after a long conference with the marquis and the officers of his squadron, who absolutely refused to depart from their original resolution, was obliged, a second time, to the great mortification of Lafayette, to give a negative answer to this just and reasonable request. He offered him, however, such land forces as he had on board, to co-operate with the American army against Rhode-Island.

In the night of the 30th August, Lafayette arrived from Boston, having been but six hours and a half on the way, eager, as he said himself, to share the honors of the battle; and nothing could exceed his disappointment and chagrin, when he found that the engagement, (in which the aid-de-camps of Washington, Col. Henry B. Livingston and John Laurens, who had been ordered to cover the retreat, and had routed the English, with a loss of between two and three hundred men,) had taken place on the evening before his arrival.

His presence had a favorable influence on the spirits of the army. He immediately took command of the rear, and exerted himself to animate the troops, who were destined to cover the retreat. This was accomplished with so much coolness, courage, and address, that not a single man was lost. By this success, he obtained the thanks of congress, expressed through the medium of the president; and the details of this masterly retreat were recorded at large in the public registers. The resolution of congress was to this effect:

Resolved, That the president be requested to inform the Marquis de La Fayette, that congress have a proper sense of the sacrifice he made of his personal feelings, in repairing to Boston, to promote the interest of the states, at a time when he momentarily expected an opportunity of distinguishing himself in the field; and that the bravery which he displayed on his return to Rhode-Island, when the greater part of the army had already effected its retreat, together with the ability with which he withdrew the piquets and advanced posts, merits the unqualified approbation of this assembly."

This resolution was accompanied by the following letter from Mr. Henry Laurens, president of the congress, to the Marquis de La Fayette, major-general in the United States army.

“ PHILADELPHIA, 13th Oct. 1778.

“ SIR: I feel a peculiar pleasure in fulfilling the instructions implied by a resolution of congress, passed on the 9th instant, and herewith inclosed, expressing the sentiments of the United States, with regard to your conduct during the recent expedition, undertaken against Rhode-Island.

“ You will but render, sir, an act of justice to congress, by regarding this testimonial as a tribute of respect and gratitude, offered by a free people, to one who has rendered them essential services.

“ I have the honor to be, &c.

“ H. LAURENS.”

The following is the marquis's reply :

“ HEAD-QUARTERS, 23d Sept. 1778.

“ Sir : I have this instant received the letter which you did me the favor to write, under date of the 13th instant, in which you inform me of the honor which congress has deemed fit to confer on me by its very flattering resolution. Proud as I am of such distinguishing approbation, I am not the less grateful to find, that my efforts have been, in a measure, regarded as useful to a cause, in which I have taken so deep and so lively an interest. Be pleased, sir, to present to congress my unfeigned and heartfelt thanks, accompanied with the assurance of my sincere attachment, the only homage which is worthy of being offered to the representatives of a free people.

“ From the moment I first heard the name of America, I began to love her : from the moment I understood that she was struggling for her liberties, I burned to shed my best blood in her glorious cause. And the days I shall devote to the service of America, wherever and whenever it may be, will constitute the happiest of my life. Yet I never so ardently desired, as I do now, to deserve the generous sentiments, with which these states and their representatives have honored me : and the flattering confidence,

which they have so freely reposed in me, has filled my breast with the most lively gratitude, and the most lasting affection.

“LAFAYETTE.”

As soon as congress was informed of the unhappy protest against Admiral d’Estaing, and the French officers in his fleet, it immediately resolved, under date of the 28th of August, directing Gen. Washington to take every measure in his power, to prevent the publication of the protest entered into by the officers of Gen. Sullivan’s army. In Gen. Washington’s letter to Gen. Greene, he said, “I depend much on your temper and influence, to conciliate that animosity, which, I plainly perceive, by a letter from the marquis,* subsists between the American and French officers in our service. This, you may be assured, will extend itself to the count, and to the officers and men of his whole fleet, should they return to Rhode-Island, unless a reconciliation shall have taken place. The marquis speaks kindly of a letter from you to him on this subject.” He will, therefore, take any advice from you, in a friendly way; and if he can be pacified, the other French gentlemen will, of course, be satisfied; *since they look up to him as their head.* The marquis grounds his complaint, on a general order of the 24th of August, and upon the universal clamor that prevailed against the French nation.

Gen. Lafayette, on this occasion, distinguished himself by his prudence and moderation. Had he shown less calmness, less firmness, and less prudent moderation, what would have become of the alliance between France and America? The latter had to struggle with a thousand difficulties, even with the aid and assistance of France, of which the immense majority of its inhabitants were her friends. But, such is the irritability of their temper, that once feeling themselves hurt in their national pride, they go easily from one extreme to another, and would, perhaps, have become, from warm allies, the deadly foes of America. The Count d’Estaing, and all his officers, who had heard of Gen Sullivan’s protest,

* This letter shows the extreme anguish of this nobleman, at the injuries he supposed to have been offered to his country, by the expressions of resentment which fell from the officers of the American army. Whilst it shows his excess of sensibility wherever France was concerned, it also manifests the most unlimited attachment to the commander-in-chief. [Marshall’s Life of Washington.]

were much hurt and irritated, and confessed it frankly to Lafayette. He had, therefore, to use his prudence, his manly and persuading rhetoric and firmness, to appease at once these incensed officers, and to calm their passions. He acted with equal success in the American camp. And thus we see a young officer, at the age of twenty years, acting as few more aged men would have behaved. If we examine the sad consequences of a less prudent behavior, I think both countries, America and France, must admire this action of Lafayette, much more than all his victories.

After the failure of the Rhode-Island expedition, nothing remarkable occurred during the remainder of the campaign of 1778, in which Lafayette was immediately concerned. But about this time he received letters from France, informing him of the sensation that had been produced in England, by the news of the French treaty, and the knowledge of the services rendered by the French marquis to the American cause; and adding, that it was the general impression, that a war would shortly break out between England and France.

Lafayette did not hesitate an instant. His country required his services, and the obligations of the French officer, were higher and stronger than those of the American general. He resolved, however, to unite with the performance of his duty, the execution of a plan, which he now submitted to his friend Gen. Washington.

He had been exceedingly vexed with the absolute and explicit refusal, on the part of Count d'Estaing and his officers, to assist the Americans in the Rhode-Island expedition, which failed solely in consequence of their obstinacy. He had frequently expressed it, as his decided opinion, to Gen. Washington, that unless France should send vessels of war, and troops, in sufficient numbers, and put them under the immediate control of the commander-in-chief, the benefits of her alliance must necessarily be partial and insignificant: for every French officer might allege, with Count d'Estaing, the secret orders of his sovereign, as a pretext to avoid the performance of a dangerous or disagreeable service. Gen. Washington, though of a disposition too modest to be absolutely of his opinion, opposed to his remarks but very few and feeble objections, from which the marquis

easily inferred, that the general's sentiments coincided with his own. He accordingly wrote to such of his friends as possessed much influence in the ministry, that, if they were really desirous of aiding the American cause, it was necessary to furnish larger supplies, and submit them to the wisdom and conduct of the American general; whose character he then portrayed, in language at once honorable to the ardor of his friendship, and just to the merit of his friend.

CHAPTER VII.

Situation of the American army—Policy of General Washington and the Congress in regard to Lafayette—His departure from America—Conspiracy on board the frigate *Alliance*, on his passage to France—Lafayette's reception in his country—Enthusiasm of the French people to serve under Washington—Departure of Lafayette from France, and his arrival at Boston.

GEN. WASHINGTON assembled a council of his confidential officers, and communicated to them the difficulties under which the American cause was laboring. The paper currency was reduced to its lowest value; the army was in want of the necessary supplies; their pay was greatly in arrears; and apprehensions could not be suppressed, of the danger of their being disbanded, in case no remedy could be found. From the apathy and reluctance with which the several states responded to the appeal of congress, on this subject, the commander-in-chief felt much anxiety. The numerical force of the army was not of so much consequence, as the impression made upon the public mind, by the knowledge that a revolutionary army existed.

Under these desponding circumstances, Gen. Washington was desirous, from motives of real friendship, and for political reasons, also, of preserving the connexion of the Marquis de Lafayette with the army, and of strengthening his attachment to America. He therefore expressed to congress his wishes that Lafayette, instead of resigning his commission, might have unlimited leave of absence, to return when it should be convenient to himself; and might carry with him every mark of the confidence of the government.

To this policy congress was well disposed ; and to the leave of absence which had been required, they added the most flattering resolutions.

Lafayette left Washington's quarters in October, 1778, and repaired to Philadelphia, where congress were then in session.

In consequence of the unlimited permission granted by congress, he embarked in January, 1779, at Boston, in the frigate Alliance, the only one remaining to the United States ; all the others having been taken or destroyed by the British ships of war.

Lafayette carried away with him the regrets of every virtuous citizen, mingled with the pleasing hope, that his departure would not be without its use to his country and America. What an extraordinary situation for a young man but twenty-two years of age ! Connecting, as it were, the interests of the two hemispheres by his courage, his ardent and uncommon zeal, his devoted attachment to the cause of liberty ; this young hero succeeded in rendering very signal services to each of his countries, without neglecting his obligations to either. His enthusiastic love of liberty, his cheerful and disinterested abandonment of a large share of his fortune, the frequent and fearless exposure of his life, the blood which he had shed in the field of battle, his strong conviction that he was serving his country, in thus devoting himself to the cause of the states ; every thing, in short, was so extraordinary in this young warrior, that from the moment he arrived at Havre, he was feasted and caressed by his fellow-citizens, with such demonstrations of regard, as few indeed can boast of having received. This enthusiastic excitement, and just admiration of the young marquis's virtues, affected all parties, and even extended to the frigid and ceremonious frequenters of the court.

Such was the low state of the American finances, and the paper money so reduced, that the naval department was under the painful necessity of having recourse to the employment of British seamen, taken out of the prison ships in Boston, in order to complete the necessary crew of the frigate Alliance. On his passage to France, his life was endangered by a conspiracy formed by the seamen, to destroy him and all the officers ; but, providentially, one man's heart failed him ; he revealed the secret ;

the leaders were arrested and confined, and the Alliance arrived safe in France.

Lafayette hastened to meet Dr. Franklin and the minister of foreign affairs ; and having laid his despatches from congress and from General Washington before them, a cabinet council was immediately convoked at his request, and it was agreed that Gen. Washington himself should be instantly authorized to draw bills of exchange on the royal treasury at Paris, for six millions of livres. This loan was negotiated by Dr. Franklin and Lafayette. The ministers overruled this proposition ; but the marquis had the satisfaction to return to America, and the greatest part of the money went into the bank of North-America, and very much assisted that able financier, Robert Morris, in completing the specie payment of that bank, so essential at that moment to re-establish the credit of the United States.

Lafayette prepared, in concert with Paul Jones, an expedition, having for its object to make the maritime English towns contribute to the advantage of the United States. This expedition had for its foundation the grand project of a descent on England.

The young queen, Marie Antoinette, no less celebrated for her misfortunes than for her beauty, vivacity, and wit, was one of his most ardent admirers. With a mind exquisitely susceptible of the impression of generous and exalted sentiments, she had ever admired, in the youthful Lafayette, his lofty devotion and chivalric spirit.

The envy of fanaticism will never deprive the memory of an unjustly calumniated and barbarously murdered princess, of the honor which belongs to conduct and qualities like these. She became his most zealous protectress, and in the private audiences which she frequently granted him, she often took occasion to inquire into the character of Gen. Washington. Lafayette, on this subject, could scarcely command himself, and spoke with an eloquence so ardent and so earnest, that the queen and all who were present at the interview, were unable to resist the contagion of his enthusiasm.

As soon as she saw Dr. Franklin, then minister plenipotentiary, she could not help exclaiming, with all that gentle affability for which she was remarkable : " Do you know, doctor, that Lafayette has really made me

in love with your Gen. Washington? What a man he must be, and what a friend he possesses in the Marquis!"

The contemporaneous accounts show pretty plainly, to what a degree the interest for the young Lafayette had been excited, and the effect which it produced upon public opinion. Thus, when the ambassador of the United States, accompanied by all the Americans present in the capital, appeared for the first time at court, they thought it necessary to pay a visit to the young wife of Lafayette, for the purpose of performing an act of solemn homage to her.

The king, the ministry, and the whole court, received him with great cordiality, and he was particularly admitted to long and frequent conferences with the Count de Vergennes, a statesman of great intelligence and talent, who was then at the head of affairs, and in whom the king reposed the most unbounded confidence. In the course of these conferences, Lafayette addressed the minister with all that frankness which distinguished every action of his life, and undertook to prove the necessity of aiding the Americans by more liberal supplies, and larger forces both by land and sea; insisting particularly on the propriety of submitting the disposition of these forces entirely to the direction of the American congress, or the commander-in-chief. He at last succeeded in convincing the minister, and through his representations, the king; being powerfully seconded in all these conferences by the *ci-devant* minister of France in Philadelphia, and by the Chevalier de la Luzerne, his successor. Orders were accordingly issued, to equip a new squadron, and to put on board a more numerous body of troops.

In the mean time, congress, by a resolution, passed the 21st of October, 1778, had authorized Dr. Franklin to present to Gen. Lafayette a sword, superbly ornamented, with appropriate allegorical devices. As soon as it was finished, it was forwarded to Havre, under the charge of his grandson, with a very flattering letter by Dr. Franklin to Lafayette. On this sword were engraved several of his memorable exploits, and he was himself represented as wounding the British lion, and receiving a laurel from America, delivered from her chains.

Lafayette was, above all, highly pleased with the numerous marks of admiration and attention paid to him and his lady by Voltaire. This philosopher, one evening, found Madame de Lafayette in a large assembly. Scarcely acquainted with her presence, he pierced the crowd, approached the chair of Madame de Lafayette, kneeled before her, and expressed his sincere thanks for all that Lafayette had done for the honor of his country and the liberties of both worlds !

Immediately upon its being known that the king had approved of the design of sending an additional body of troops to America, almost the whole of the French nobility exhibited the most ardent desire to follow the example of their young compatriot ; and the enthusiasm to go to the new world and defend the cause of struggling liberty, rose to such a height, that a permission to enter the American service under the command of General Washington, became the object of the most eager intrigue, and was regarded as a special and distinguished favor. So great was the number of applicants, that many thousands were of necessity refused ; and Gen. Lafayette was so surrounded with the entreaties of more than two hundred young noblemen, some requesting to be accepted as aides-de-camp, and others as secretaries, that he found himself utterly at a loss to evade their importunities.

The house of the American minister was in the same way besieged from morning to night, by thousands, who earnestly begged, as a very particular favor, that he would exert his influence with the French minister, to obtain for them permission to serve under the orders of the illustrious Washington. In short, without being well acquainted with the impetuous character of the youth of France, it would be impossible to form an adequate idea of the extraordinary scenes which occurred at this time, both at Paris and Versailles. It was no uncommon case, for young men to travel post, night and day, for several hundred leagues, in order to be among the first who presented themselves at court, to solicit the favor of being permitted to serve in the American war.

The spirit of the nation, at the same time, came powerfully to the marquis's assistance. Every Frenchman,

in a greater or less degree, entertains against the English a strong disposition of hostility, for which, perhaps, no adequate reason can be assigned. To combat in the cause of liberty, under the standard of a general like Washington, was, doubtless, a consideration of great weight with every young and gallant spirit; but, in so doing, to turn their arms against the enemies of their own country, and to wrest from their possession a country like America, was an enterprize too inviting to resist; and it was this reflection, no doubt, which principally operated to induce many thousand young Frenchmen to use all their interest to obtain, as a favor, what most would regard as the greatest of misfortunes; and to accept, with the sincerest gratitude, permission to leave their native soil, with all that was dear to them, and seek a distant shore, where they must necessarily be exposed to the hazards of danger, disease, and death. Lafayette had shown them the glorious example, and his grateful compatriots strove, by all the means in their power, to testify their affectionate regard. Every one was ambitious of the honor of doing honor to *him*; and no man was ever received with more enthusiasm than Gen. Lafayette everywhere met with in France. The double popularity of this young republican soldier is perceptible in all the memoirs of the epoch.*

A short tour in Auvergne, which he undertook about this time, partly for the purpose of escaping these perpetual festivities, and partly in order to arrange his family affairs, (the greater part of his property being situated there,) bore every resemblance to an actual triumph. From Auvergne he returned to Paris and Versailles, where Louis, in granting permission to Lafayette to rejoin the American army, added, that he could not better serve his king than by serving America. Shortly after, he embarked on board one of the king's frigates, which had

* See the Memoirs of Madame Campan, and the verses of Gaston and Bayard, copied by the hand of the queen; the journal of her foster-brother Weber; and the piece presented by Cerutti to the Emperor Joseph, during his travels, in which the following line is to be found:

"Lafayette à vingt ans d'un monde était l'appui."

When, also, we consider the allusions at the theatres, the testimony of enthusiasm in the commercial towns, at Bordeaux, at Marseilles, &c., it is not to be wondered at, that the feeling excited by his departure, contrasting strongly with the decided disapprobation of his conduct, that had been expressed by the two governments of London and Versailles, should have had a great influence on public opinion at this period.

been equipped at Havre, by order of the government, in order to give him a safer and more honorable passage. He was accompanied by a crowd of officers, and carried with him arms, ammunition, and supplies of every description.

Lafayette arrived at Boston on the 26th of April, 1780. As soon as the inhabitants were acquainted with the fact, they crowded to the harbor, and conducted him, amidst the roaring of cannon and the ringing of bells, to the rooms which the municipal authorities had prepared for him. Fireworks were seen in all the places of public amusement; he was invited to all entertainments, and unusual and repeated distinctions were conferred upon him, as tokens of the general satisfaction at seeing him among them again. These testimonials of gratitude and regard were particularly honorable, inasmuch as they were awarded to his personal merit alone; he having as yet communicated to none the agreeable intelligence of which he was the bearer.

He withdrew, as speedily as possible, from these tumultuous demonstrations of joy, which, far from being confined to the town, were equally exhibited by the inhabitants of the surrounding country, who came in crowds to assure him of their esteem and affection.

On his arrival at the seat of government, he communicated to congress the official information, that the king of France had consented to send very considerable land and sea forces, to assist them in their just and honorable enterprise. He was complimented by a deputation of the members, and was received by the inhabitants with every proof of consideration and regard; to which his constant and indefatigable zeal in support of the American cause, as well as this last signal service, gave him such just pretensions.

We leave the reader to imagine the mutual joy experienced by Lafayette and Washington, at their first interview, after his return. The strong affection which the American general felt for his adopted son, continued every day to increase, while nothing could exceed the respect and veneration which the youthful warrior felt for this great and illustrious man.

CHAPTER VIII.

Campaign of Lafayette in 1780—He receives the command of two chosen Brigades—Arrival of Rochambeau and Tiernay—Lafayette is charged to receive them—His critical situation.

The military operations of the year 1779 were of little consequence in America ; but in Europe, the political events of this year were of no small importance.—The representations of Lafayette had convinced the cabinet of Versailles, that neither the succors, nor the limited instructions of Count d'Estaing, would answer the design proposed. The Bourbon family of France and Spain united in declaring war against their common enemy, and even before the declaration, the Spanish governor of Louisiana, Don Bernardo de Galvez, had, on the 19th August, 1779, solemnly recognized the independence of the States, and had commenced hostilities against the English, by the occupation of the post of Mobile.

The Americans, however, anticipated too much from the alliance of France. They confidently expected that this measure on the part of the French cabinet would give rise to a declaration of war between Great Britain and the Bourbons, by which the former would be so much occupied, as to be unable to prosecute with vigor, her plan of reducing them to submission. General Washington endeavored in vain, to represent to congress and the different confederated states, that Great Britain entertained no idea whatever of abandoning her original design ; that her decided naval superiority would overpower the united efforts of France and Spain ; and that, in short, the Americans must redouble their activity and rouse their energies, to finish by vigorous operations, a struggle which had already lasted much too long.

The failure of the attack on Savannah, in which Count d'Estaing was wounded, 9th Oct. 1779, induced the French admiral to re-embark his troops and bid a final farewell to the American seas.

The arrival of General Lafayette, and the agreeable information of which he was the bearer, infused a little more spirit and activity in the movements of the army.

Gen. Washington selected two brigades from the different regiments in the main army, to form a corps of light infantry, to be commanded by the marquis. The commander-in-chief, finding no better way of rewarding the zeal and merit of his youthful friend, reviewed them, with other general officers, on the grand parade in his camp at the ferry of the North river, not far distant from West-Point, and pronounced them to be as excellent a corps as could be produced in any army. Lafayette was delighted with his command, and provided for them, at his own expense, some extra equipments. He made also very great sacrifices to assist the general in the equipment of the troops, who were coming in much more slowly than was anticipated or desired; for Washington was, about this time, projecting an attack upon New-York.

On the 13th of July, information was received from that city, that a large French squadron had been seen, between the capes of Virginia and Delaware; and the next day, a letter was received from General Heath, at Newport, dated the 11th, with information that the French fleet was at that instant coming up the harbor.

Shortly after, General Washington received letters from Count de Rochambeau and Chevalier de Tiernay, apprizing him of their arrival. They wrote word, that in consequence of the difficulty experienced in collecting transports for the troops embarking for America, the squadron of the Count de Guiche, destined for the West-Indies, requiring nearly all, they had brought with them only the first division; but that the second was in readiness, at Brest, and only waiting for the transports necessary for their embarkation.

But what was of more importance, and equally honorable to Washington and Lafayette, Count de Rochambeau informed the American commander-in-chief, that he had received the most positive orders to place himself entirely at the disposal of the American congress; that the French troops were to be regarded as auxiliaries, and consequently, according to the usages of war, were inferior in rank and authority to the nation who employed them.

The two generals were thoroughly convinced of the necessity of maintaining the most perfect harmony and

good understanding between the two armies. Under these circumstances, General Lafayette performed a part as honorable to himself, as it was useful to the allies. He passed continually from one camp to the other, charged with the most delicate and difficult commissions, which, as he considered himself as equally belonging to each nation, he endeavored to execute without committing the honor or interest of either. In all his orders, Gen. Washington recommended the utmost unanimity; and the better to bring about a union of feeling and concert of action, he directed that his soldiers should wear, as a token of affection and friendship for their allies, a white ribbon, which was the color of the French cockade, along with their own cockade, which was black.

The first division of the French fleet, as it arrived at Newport, consisted of two ships of 80 guns, one of 74, four of 64, two frigates of 40, one cutter of 20, a hospital ship, pierced for 64 guns, and 32 transports, under the command of Rear Admiral de Tiernay. On board were four regiments of troops, with the Duke de Lauzun's legion, consisting of a great number of volunteer noblemen, whom the king had permitted to serve. There was, besides, a battallion of artillery, with a select train of bombarding and field pieces; the whole being under the command of Lieutenant General the Count de Rochambeau.

Gen. Lafayette was immediately directed by the commander-in-chief, to superintend the reception of his countrymen, a commission which he executed to the satisfaction of all. Washington had at the same time given him confidential instructions, to propose to the new allies a combined plan of operations, but on no account to conceal the melancholy condition of the American army. In consequence, however, of a series of unfortunate events, which it is not our business to detail, the contemplated attack on New-York was never attempted; and the year 1780 elapsed without any remarkable occurrence.

In the early part of the campaign of 1781, the enemy extended their ravages to the south of Virginia, and Lafayette was, in consequence, sent at the head of an expedition against Portsmouth; but an unexpected event occurred, which checked his zeal, and forced him to abandon the enterprize, in the same manner as he had be-

fore been compelled to give over the invasion of Canada. This event was an engagement, which took place on the 16th of March, 1781, between Destouches, the commander of the French squadron, and Admiral Arbuthnot.— In consequence of the result of this engagement, Lafayette retrograded to the head of Elk, and had proceeded with his troops to Annapolis, in Maryland, where they waited for a frigate from the French squadron to convey them to Virginia.

The rencontre of the fleet, and the consequent return of Destouches to Newport, having rendered the object of the expedition unattainable, Lafayette re-embarked his detachment for the head of Elk, at which place he received orders to join the southern army. Gen. Washington sent him an express, informing him that the enemy was concentrating all his forces, to take possession of Virginia. He enjoined him, therefore, to collect all his disposable forces, and to defend this state to the last extremity, as the fate of all the other southern states depended upon this one.

Before obtaining intelligence that the naval action of the 16th had restored to the British admiral the superiority at sea, two thousand troops, commanded by General Phillips, embarked at New-York for Portsmouth, and arrived on the 26th of March, in the Chesapeake. This powerful re-inforcement gave the British a decided superiority in Virginia, over any military force which could be brought to oppose them, and changed the destination of Lafayette, to whom the defence of that state was now committed.

This was a very critical position for such a young commander. The troops under his orders had been taken chiefly from the eastern regiments, and had imbibed strong prejudices against a southern climate. The service on which they were detached, was not expected to be of long duration, and they were consequently unprepared for a campaign in a department where no relief to the most pressing wants could be procured. From these causes, desertion became so frequent as to threaten the dissolution of the corps.

This unpromising state of things was completely changed by a happy expedient adopted by Lafayette appealing to the generous and honorable principles of his sol-

diers—principles on which the feelings of his own bosom taught him to rely; he proclaimed, in orders, that he was about to enter on an enterprise of great danger and difficulty, in which he persuaded himself that his soldiers would not desert him. If, however, any individual of the detachment was unwilling to accompany him, he was invited to apply for a permit to return to his regiment, which should most assuredly be granted.

This measure had the desired effect. The disgrace of applying to be excused from a service full of hazard, was too great to be encountered, and a total stop was immediately put to desertion. In order to keep up the good disposition of the moment, this ardent young soldier who was as unmindful of fortune as he was ambitious of fame, borrowed from the merchants of Baltimore, on his private credit, a sum of money, sufficient to purchase shoes, linen, spirits, and other articles of immediate necessity for the detachment.*

CHAPTER IX.

Lafayette detached to Virginia.—His junction with Gen. Wayne.—His skilful manœuvres against the superior forces of Lord Cornwallis and Arnold.

HAVING made these preparations for the campaign, Lafayette marched with the utmost celerity to the defence of Virginia. That state was in great need of assistance. The enemy had penetrated deep into its bosom, and was practising on its inhabitants those excesses which will ever be experienced by a country unable to repel invasion.

Believing that it was the design of Gen. Philips to make an attack upon Richmond, he hastened to that place with so much diligence, that he arrived on the very evening preceding the day on which his adversary made his appearance. By this rapid and dexterous movement, the capital of Virginia, at that time the general depot of

* It is not unworthy of notice that the ladies of Baltimore charged themselves with the toil of immediately making up the summer clothes for the troops. Innumerable instances of their zeal in the common cause of their country, were given by the fair sex in every state of the Union.

the military supplies of that state, was rescued from the most imminent danger. Early the next morning, the English entered Manchester, a village situated directly opposite to Richmond.

The regular troops, detached under the marquis, were joined by about two thousand militia and sixty dragoons. Not thinking it advisable to attempt the passage of the Thames river, in the face of so considerable an army, Gen. Philips marched back to Bermuda-Hundred, destroying in his way property to an immense amount. At that place he re-embarked his troops, and fell down as far as Hog-Island, which was reached by the van of his fleet on the fifth of May.

Detaching small parties to watch the motions of the enemy, the marquis fixed his head-quarters on the north of Chicahominy, about eighteen miles from Richmond ; where he remained until a letter from Lord Cornwallis called Philips again up James river.

On the 7th of May Philips received this letter, and immediately prepared to comply with the request which it contained. As soon as the fleet moved up the river, Lafayette returned to the defence of Richmond. Having, on his arrival, received intelligence that Cornwallis was marching northward, and finding Philips landed at Brandon, on the south side of the river, he was persuaded that a junction of the two armies was intended, and hastened to take possession of Petersburg, before Philips could reach that place. In this, however, he was anticipated. The march of that general was so rapid, and he entered Petersburg so unexpectedly, that he surprized and seized a party of officers, some of whom had been sent forward to collect boats for the use of the American army.

Being thus disappointed in the design of taking a position which might have enabled him, in some degree, to retard the junction of Lord Cornwallis with Gen. Philips, and having found, on reconnoitering the British army, that every part of it was unassailable by the force under his command, he re-crossed James river, and encamping a few miles below Richmond, used his utmost exertions to remove the military stores to a place of greater security.

In this position his army was permitted to repose itself but a few days. Lord Cornwallis had moved from Wilmington about the first of April, and he reached Peters-

burg in less than a month, without having encountered any serious opposition. On his arrival he took command of the whole army, of which a part, by the death of Gen. Philips, on the 13th of May, had devolved on Gen. Arnold.

Finding himself at the head of a force which nothing in Virginia could resist, this active officer instantly determined on a vigorous plan of offensive operations. His immediate object was to bring the marquis to an action, which must certainly terminate in the defeat of that officer. For this purpose he put his troops in motion without delay, and crossing James river at Westover, where he was joined by a reinforcement which had lately arrived from New-York, he attempted to get into the rear of the American army. Lafayette was in no condition to risk an engagement. The native ardor of his temper, and the reluctance with which he exposed himself to the charge of giving up the country, without even an attempt to save it by an action, required all the vigilance of his judgment to restrain him from hazarding more than his present situation would justify.

The combined forces of Generals Cornwallis and Arnold, were so decidedly superior in number, and at the same time, the conquest of Virginia would have been so fatal to the hopes of all the southern states, that the Marquis Lafayette found himself surrounded by innumerable difficulties, and sensibly felt the great importance and high responsibilities of his charge.

Fully aware of the storm that was gathering over his head, and anxiously looking round for the means of meeting, or at least averting its fury, he commenced the retreat of his little army, which consisted of only one thousand regulars, two thousand militia, and sixty dragoons. Cornwallis, highly elated with the prospect of success, secured, as he believed, by the youth of his adversary, was imprudent enough to state, in his letters to England, that *the boy could not possibly escape him*. The engagement, however, from which he expected to realize his boast, was carefully and constantly avoided by the marquis. Foiled in every attempt to bring him to action, Cornwallis at last made an effort to cut off his communication with Gen. Wayne, who was advancing from the north with eight hundred Pennsylvanians. Here he was

again disappointed; for the junction was effected at Raccoon Ford, without the loss of a single man. The next object of Lord Cornwallis was to seize the ammunition, which, for greater security, had been removed from Richmond to Albemarle old court-house, above the point of the fork. Just at the instant when the junction between Generals Lafayette and Wayne took place, Lord Cornwallis threw himself between the combined armies and the public magazines. As the possession of these stores was, with both armies, an object of the greatest importance, Lafayette was determined to make an attempt to pass the British army by forced marches, while they were still two days' march from Albemarle old court-house. Here again Lord Cornwallis believed he had out-generalled his adversary; he knew the design of Lafayette; but he saw no way by which his object could be effected, except by a road where the American army might be attacked to the greatest advantage. It was a critical moment, but the marquis had the address and good fortune to evade the danger, and accomplish his design. Part of his army was ordered to open, during the night, a road, which, though leading more directly to Albemarle old court-house, had not been made use of for several years, and which was consequently very much obstructed. By this manœuvre he succeeded in effecting his object; and when the British general expected to seize his prey, he had the mortification to perceive that the American army had crossed the Rivanna, and taken a strong position behind Mechum-creek. This position, which, in a great measure, commanded the route leading from the British camp to Albemarle old court-house, could not be attacked but with disadvantage. At this place, too, a strong reinforcement of mountain militia was received.

Apprehending the force opposed to him to be greater than it was in reality, Lord Cornwallis abandoned the objects which he had pursued, and retired to Richmond, to which place he was followed by the Marquis Lafayette. The main body of the American army in Virginia had just been reinforced by troops under the command of Baron Steuben, and by several volunteer corps, consisting of citizens of Virginia and Maryland; and Lafayette had sufficient address to make the English general believe that he was much stronger than he really was. Under this

apprehension, Lord Cornwallis retreated to Williamsburg; which, however, he soon after evacuated, in consequence of being weakened by a requisition of Sir Henry Clinton of a part of his troops.

The morning after the evacuation of Williamsburg, Lafayette changed his position, and crossing the Chickahominy, pushed his best troops within nine miles of the British camp, with the intention of attempting their rear, when the main body should have passed over the ford, at which they were encamped, into the island of Jamestown. Lord Cornwallis, who had suspected this design, retained the greater part of his army on the main land, and at the same time employed every possible stratagem to make it appear that his main body had actually crossed the ford in the night. All the intelligence received by Lafayette, concurred in the representation that the greater part of the British army had passed over into the island of Jamestown in the night. Believing this to be the fact, he detached some riflemen and militia, the 6th of July, to harass their out-posts, while he advanced at the head of the continental troops, in order to cut off the rear, should the intelligence he had received prove well founded.

Every appearance was calculated to countenance the opinion which had been formed. The British light parties were all drawn in, and the piquets, which lay close to the encampment, were forced by the riflemen without much resistance. Lafayette, however, who arrived a little before sunset, determined to reconnoitre the camp, and judge of its strength from his own observation.

It was in a great degree concealed by woods; but, from a tongue of land stretching into the river, at no great distance, he soon perceived the British force to be much more considerable than had been apprehended; and hastened to call off his men. On his return he found Wayne closely engaged.

A piece of artillery had been left but weakly defended, which Wayne determined to seize, and Major Galvan was advanced for that purpose. Scarcely was the attempt made, when he discovered the whole army ranged in order of battle, moving out against him. A retreat was now impossible, and the boldest had become the safest measure. Under this impression, he advanced rapidly, and with

his small detachment, not exceeding eight hundred men, made a gallant charge on the British line. A warm action ensued, which was kept up with great spirit for several minutes; when Lafayette, who had now come up, perceiving Wayne to be out-flanked, both on the right and left, ordered him to retreat, and form in a line with the light infantry, who were then drawn up about half a mile in his rear; after which the whole American force saved itself behind a morass.

Cornwallis, suspecting, from the hardness of the attack and the time of the day, that this manoeuvre was intended to draw him into an ambuscade, did not venture to leave his position. Thus, owing partly to the caution and circumspection of the marquis, and partly to the timidity of the English general, the stratagem of Cornwallis was entirely defeated. From Jamestown, the British army proceeded to Portsmouth, and the marquis availed himself of this opportunity to refresh his harassed troops, who had thus kept the field with so much success, against a great superiority of effective force.

After a series of manoeuvres, unnecessary to describe, in which the English general evinced a bold and enterprising disposition, and the young marquis a happy combination of the ardor of youth and the judgment of ripened manhood, Lord Cornwallis finally collected his whole force at Yorktown. The marquis, in the mean time, had taken a position on James river, in order to resist any attempt which the British army might make to escape into South-Carolina; and entered into a variety of arrangements, all subordinate to the grand design of the ensuing campaign.

CHAPTER X.

Arrival of the French fleet under Admiral de Grasse—Washington joins Lafayette—Siege of Yorktown—Surrender of Lord Cornwallis—Thanks of Congress to Lafayette—His second departure for France, December, 1781.

In pursuance of the engagements entered into by the minister of the king of France, the Admiral Count de Grasse had sailed from Brest early in March, with a squadron of twenty-five sail of the line, five of which were designed for the East and twenty for the West-Indies.

After some operations, de Grasse sailed, with a large convoy from Cape Francois, which he conducted out of danger ; and then directed his course, with twenty-eight sail of the line and several frigates, to the Chesapeake, where he arrived late in August.

Gen. Washington having laid the plan to attack, with the assistance of the French sea and land forces, the city of New-York, was forced to abandon his grand enterprise. The shortness of the time appropriated by the French admiral de Grasse, for his continuance on the American coast, the apparent destination of the naval officers to attempt to force a passage into the harbor of New-York, and the backwardness of the states in complying with the requisitions which had been made on them for men, decided in favor of southern operations ; and the views of the commander-in-chief were entirely directed towards the waters of the Chesapeake.

This change of plan, which had been before suggested to Lafayette as probable, was now communicated to him as certain ; and he was requested to make such a disposition of his army, as should be best calculated to prevent Lord Cornwallis from saving himself by a sudden march to Charleston.

Lafayette therefore despatched an officer towards the French fleet, which he found at Cape Henry. By him the Count de Grasse was fully instructed of the situation of the armies in Virginia. Lord Cornwallis, who had received notice that a French fleet was to be expected on the coast, had collected his whole force at Yorktown and Gloucester-point, where he was fortifying himself assiduously ; while the marquis retained his position on James river.

In consequence of the information received from Lafayette, four ships of the line and several frigates were detached by the French admiral, for the purpose of blocking up the mouth of York river, and of conveying the land forces, brought from the West-Indies under the command of the Marquis de St. Simon, up the James, to form a junction with Lafayette. In the mean time, the fleet lay at anchor just within the capes. On the 25th of August the Count de Barran sailed from Newport for the Chesapeake.

The combined army, under the command of Washing-

ton and de Rochambeau, had advanced on this expedition as far as Chester, in Pennsylvania, when they received the welcome intelligence of the arrival of Admiral de Grasse in the Chesapeake, with twenty-four ships of the line. This took place on the 30th of August, and on the next day, three thousand two hundred men, for the most part drawn from St. Domingo, under the command of the Marquis de St. Simon, were disembarked on the south side of James river, and promptly effected a junction with the forces under Lafayette. The French general, as may well be imagined, felt great pleasure at finding himself reinforced by so large a number of his own countrymen, and now conceived great hopes of rendering important services to the cause in which he had engaged with so much disinterested ardor.

After a naval action, on the 5th of September, between the French and British fleets, under command of Admirals de Grasse and Greaves, in which neither admiral could claim the victory, de Grasse took his former position within the capes, and found the Count de Barras, with the squadron from Newport and fourteen transports laden with heavy artillery and military stores proper for carrying on a siege.

After many manœuvres and partial actions, General Washington ordered to carry by storm two redoubts, advanced three hundred yards in front of the British works at Yorktown, which flanked the second parallel of the besiegers. It was necessary to possess these redoubts; and on the 14th of October preparations were made to that effect. To avail himself of the spirit of emulation existing between the troops of the two nations, and to avoid furnishing matter to excite the jealousy of either, the attack of the one was committed to the Americans, and of the other to the French. The Marquis de Lafayette commanded the American detachment, composed of the light infantry, which was intended to act against the redoubt on the extreme left of the British works on the river bank; and the Baron de Viominil led the grenadiers and chasseurs of his country against that which, being further towards the British right, approached rather nearer the French lines. Towards the close of the day, the two detachments marched with equal firmness to the assault. Emulous of glory both for themselves and their

country, every exertion was made by each. Colonel Hamilton, who throughout this campaign had commanded a battalion of light infantry, led the advanced corps of the Americans, consisting of his own and of Colonel Gimat's battalions; and Colonel Laurens, another aid of the commander-in-chief, turned the redoubt at the head of eighty men, in order to take the garrison in reverse, and intercept their retreat. The troops rushed to the charge without firing a single gun; and so great was their ardor, that they did not give the sappers time to remove the abattis and palisades. Passing over them, they assaulted the works with irresistible impetuosity, on all sides at once, and entered them with such rapidity, that their loss was inconsiderable. The redoubt attacked by the French was taken a little later, but the same night, being defended by a greater number of men.

The commander-in-chief was highly gratified with the active courage displayed in this assault. The orders of the succeeding day, congratulating the army on the capture of these important works, expressed a high sense of the judicious disposition and gallant conduct of both the Baron de Viominil and the Marquis de Lafayette, and requested them to convey to every officer and man engaged in the enterprize, the acknowledgments of the commander-in-chief, for the spirit and rapidity with which they advanced to the attack, and for the admirable firmness with which they supported themselves under the fire of the enemy, without returning a shot. "The general reflects," conclude the orders, "with the highest degree of pleasure, on the confidence which the troops of the two nations must hereafter have in each other. Assured of mutual support, he is convinced there is no danger which they will not cheerfully encounter, no danger which they will not bravely overcome."*

Gen. Washington having completed his lines of circumvallation round Yorktown, Cornwallis being hard pressed by the allied French and American armies, information was received by the commander-in-chief, that the French fleet under Count de Grasse, was preparing to get under way for the purpose of attacking the British fleet, which had just then appeared off the cape, with ten thousand troops for the relief of Lord Cornwallis,

* Marshall's Life of Washington.

Washington, much agitated and alarmed at this determination, immediately sent for the Marquis de Lafayette, requesting him to repair without delay on board the admiral's ship, and state to Count de Grasse the perilous situation in which he would leave the allied armies of America and France, should he persevere in his intention of attacking the British fleet. The marquis was instructed to impress strongly on the mind of the Count de Grasse, that it was the deliberate opinion of the commander-in-chief, and of Count de Rochambeau, that the enemy was manifestly making every effort to relieve their besieged army, and that, should the French fleet proceed outside the capes to attack them, it was more than probable the British fleet might slip into the capes, and land ten thousand men in the rear of the allied armies, cut off their supplies from the Chesapeake bay and James river, and compel them to raise the siege and retire into the upper country. The marquis on this occasion made use of the powers of his great mind, and after all the arguments and entreaties he could make use of, at length prevailed upon the count to remain at his anchorage. The marquis returned on shore, where he met Gen. Washington, who was anxiously waiting his return; and we may easily conceive the relief afforded him by the report of the marquis, that the Count de Grasse had consented to remain and protect the army at all hazards. These facts came out in France, in justification of the conduct of Count de Grasse, in not going out of the Chesapeake to attack the British fleet; as his force was represented to be superior in number of ships to that of the enemy.

This great and important event, which the great zeal and talents of Lafayette contributed to accomplish, immediately led to the surrender of Lord Cornwallis, by the capitulation of Yorktown, October, 1781. This event, when communicated to the great Dr. Franklin by the bearer of Washington's despatches, (the Count de Lauzun,) led him immediately to exclaim, clasping the count in his arms; "*Thank God, my country is free!*"

After vain attempts on the part of Lord Cornwallis, to make a sortie, or to escape and retreat through Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Jersey, and to form a junction with the army of New-York, he was compelled, by seve-

ral new batteries, which were opened in the second parallel, on the morning of the 17th October, to send a parley, and to propose a cessation of hostilities for twenty-four hours, that commissioners might meet at Moore's house, which was just in the rear of the first parallel, to settle terms for the surrender of the posts of York and Gloucester. After some negotiations, and finding all attempts to obtain better terms unavailing, Lord Cornwallis submitted to a necessity no longer to be avoided, and on the 19th of October surrendered the posts of Yorktown and Gloucester-point, with the garrisons which had defended them, and the shipping in the harbor, with their seamen, to the land and naval officers of America and France.

The army, with the artillery, arms and accoutrements, military chest and public stores of every denomination, were surrendered to Gen. Washington; the ships and seamen to the Count de Grasse. The total amount of seamen, rather exceeded seven thousand men, of whom five thousand nine hundred and sixty-three were rank and file.

In negotiating the articles of capitulation, the English general, full of admiration of the valor and conduct of the marquis, requested, as a particular favor, to be permitted to treat with him alone, and to surrender his sword into his hands; an office which the modesty of Lafayette compelled him to decline.

After receiving the acknowledgments of the commander-in-chief, and the thanks of congress, Gen. Lafayette proceeded, in Nov. 1781, to Philadelphia, where he was received with every demonstration of joy. By the state of Virginia he was presented with a bust, on which were various honorary inscriptions. Met by applause, and followed by gratitude wherever he went, he finally, in December, 1781, sailed a second time for France, in order to urge the French government to extend further assistance.

The following are the thanks of congress :

" IN CONGRESS, Nov. 23, 1781.

" *Resolved*, That Major General the Marquis de Lafayette, be informed, that, on a review of his conduct throughout the past campaign, and particularly during the

period in which he had the chief command in Virginia, the many new proofs which present themselves, of his zealous attachment to the cause he has espoused, and of his judgment, vigilance, gallantry and address, in its defence, have greatly added to the high opinion entertained by congress of his merit and military talents."

Congress requested their ministers in Europe to confer with him on the situation of American affairs, and to employ his assistance in accelerating such supplies as might be afforded by his most christian majesty.

CHAPTER XI.

War between France and England—Arrival of Gen. Lafayette in his native country—He joins Count d'Estaing at Cadix—His third voyage to the United States in 1784.

WHEN Britain and France quarrel, the contest of these two boldest, most enterprizing and ablest of modern nations, affects the most remote regions of the earth. Disputes springing on the neighboring coast of the channel, tinge the distant Ganges with blood, and the pacific feebleness of Eastern Asia mourns the warlike energy of Western Europe.

The first war-like operations were in the West-Indies; hostilities had commenced there in 1778. Spain joined France to besiege Gibraltar—this famous siege which cost so much blood and money without the least success. The northern powers of Europe, Russia, Denmark, Sweden and Holland, fearing the increasing ambition of Great Britain, signed, the 19th of July, at Copenhagen, a treaty known under the name of the *armed neutrality*. Holland joined at last the Bourbons, and their combined plan was to attack the two Islands of Jersey and Minorca, to conquer Gibraltar and to destroy the different constructions of British vessels in their ports. But Holland had renounced all warlike enterprizes since she had entirely devoted herself to commercial speculations; she was rich enough to pay all the armies of Europe, but unable to resist one. She therefore was of little use to France or Spain.

Hyder Ally with his son Typpo Saib revolted against the usurped power of Great Britain in the East-Indies, sustained by France against England. Lord North's administration excited general dissatisfaction in the latter country. France, Spain and Holland, made the greatest sacrifices to reduce Great Britain. Minorca was taken, but Gibraltar resisted.

Gen. Lafayette arrived on board of an American frigate and hastened to see his beloved wife and family. He arrived at Paris in the beginning of 1782, and alighted at the hotel Noailles, residence of Madame Lafayette who knew nothing of his unexpected arrival. She was that evening at a festival which the city of Paris gave to the king and queen and to the court, in celebration of the birth of the Dauphin. As soon as the queen heard of the arrival of the general, she hastened towards Madame de Lafayette, and in complimenting her on the arrival of the vanquisher of Cornwallis, she insisted on having the pleasure of conducting her in her own carriage, to her hotel; and in spite of all that Madame de Lafayette could say to dissuade her from doing it, the queen carried her away and accompanied her to the door of her residence.

Wherever Lafayette went, he was received with such continued demonstrations of joy, that he had scarce a moment of leisure to devote to his own family and affairs. The court and people vied in showing their admiration of this young hero, so distinguished for his modesty and bravery.

After the king had listened to the history of American affairs which Lafayette related, he inquired with his usual frankness and good nature: "But, sir, what were you doing all this time?" for the young general had not uttered a single word about himself.

Louis was so much delighted with his conduct and his attachment to the American cause, which reflected honor upon his own crown, that he bestowed many favors upon him; the young queen Maria Antoinette paid him some flattering compliments and presented him with her miniature.

After this, no person will be surprized that Lafayette attracted such attention: wherever he appeared, crowds assembled around him, crying, "Long live Lafayette."

Scarcely had he remained six weeks in Paris, when he requested the king to permit him to join the Count d'Estaing at Cadiz. The count, who was commander of the sea and land forces of France and Spain, had determined to attack Jamaica with sixty vessels and twenty-four thousand men. The king, after some difficulties, granted Lafayette's request, and named him chief of the staff of the combined armies. He sailed from Brest to Cadiz, whither he conducted eight thousand men. Lafayette, at his arrival at Cadiz, entered immediately upon his new and arduous duties. The ultimate object of this expedition was to proceed to New-York, after which Lafayette was to have penetrated into Canada by the river St. Lawrence, and to have revolutionized the country. But the departure of the expedition was prevented by the peace of 1783, of which he was the first to send the news to Gen. Washington and the congress, his attendance at Madrid having been required by the American charge d'affaires, in consequence of the delay which had taken place in the establishment of political relations between the two countries. Here his energetic representations in favor of America towards the courts of Madrid and Vienna, in the name of the young republic, had the effect of obtaining an arrangement of all matters in dispute, within the space of eight days.

Lafayette remained but a short time at Paris, and made a journey with his young wife and his son George, now six years of age, to his estates in Touraine. This journey was a triumph; for no sooner was it known that Gen. Lafayette was about to arrive at any place, than the bells were rung, a procession was formed and the magistrates welcomed him with little less than regal honors. The city of Orleans, in particular, detained him a whole week. He felt it proper, it is true, not to accept these honors; for he admired neither ostentation nor ceremony; but Lafayette was but a man, and he could not help being sensible to them.

Scarcely had Lafayette returned to Paris, when he received very pressing invitations from his friends in America, soliciting another visit, particularly from his adopted father Washington, who had tendered his resignation to Congress after the war, and requested permission to retire to his country seat at Mount Vernon, Vir-

ginia, where he wished again to see his beloved friend, the companion of his arms, his troubles and his glory.—Lafayette, not less anxious than himself, quickly arranged his affairs and embarked, on the first of July, 1784, for New-York, where he arrived the 4th of August.

As soon as his arrival was known, the officers who had served with him and under him, and the citizens who had formerly been acquainted with him, left their business and pressed to welcome him back to America, and to offer him their congratulations.

Here, then, in the course of human events, did he find himself in the bosom of a city, in the peaceful possession of its former inhabitants, which he had so often viewed, during the war, from the opposite side of the Hudson, while yet under the power of the British.

The day after his arrival, he was invited to a public dinner, when all the officers appeared once more in their military accoutrements, which they had long since laid aside. Animation and happiness enlivened this repast of brothers and friends, the first he had ever made upon this continent since it was free.

After remaining a short time in New-York, he went to Philadelphia, where he met the same warm and affectionate reception. The officers of the army and militia, together with the most respectable citizens, came in a body to meet him. They escorted him to the governor's house, and from thence to the lodgings prepared for him; and in the evening, every house in the city was illuminated.

The next day, Generals St. Clair, Wayne, and Irvine, were appointed a committee, from the corps of officers, to wait on Lafayette with the congratulations of the inhabitants of Pennsylvania. It was not his friends and acquaintance alone, who thus expressed their heartfelt happiness at his return. As soon as the legislature of the state heard of it, they appointed a committee, composed of a delegate from each county, who presented him an address in the name of the legislature, a part of which is as follows: "The representatives of the free-men of Pennsylvania offer you their sincerest congratulations upon your happy arrival at Philadelphia, and welcome you in the name of the state. Enjoying the blessings of liberty and peace, we contemplate, with much

satisfaction, those distinguished persons, who, disregarding the dangers of the seas, united their efforts to our own, to aid in terminating the war. Amongst these illustrious individuals we rank you the chief; your example and your zeal have animated and encouraged our own citizens; nor did you leave us until we had attained the great object of all our hopes."

This same legislature, by a special act, erected into a county a large tract of country by the name of Lafayette. The governor was directed to address to Lafayette a letter on this occasion, which was written in the manly style of republican simplicity, and at once flattering to his pride and patriotism.

Anxious to accomplish the object of his voyage, which was to meet once more his beloved Washington, he left Philadelphia on the 14th; the next night he slept at Baltimore, and the day after, he arrived at Mount Vernon.

When we reflect upon the principal occurrences in the lives of these two illustrious men; the difference of their ages, countries, the distance by which they were originally separated from each other; the circumstances which brought them together; the importance of the scenes in which they had been engaged; the glorious success of their efforts; their mutual anxiety to meet again; the tender, paternal regard on the one hand, and mutual love on the other; when we reflect on all this, we may in vain look for an example; and yet still more was felt than is here attempted to be described.

Washington and Lafayette together paid a visit to the capital of the state, Richmond. Never was reception more cordial or more demonstrative of respect and affection, than that which was given to these beloved personages. But amidst the display of addresses and entertainments which were produced by the occasion, the great business of promoting internal improvements, then in contemplation, was not forgotten; and the ardor of the moment was seized to conquer those objections to Washington's favorite plan to open the great rivers, the Potomac and the James, as high as should be practicable.

After a stay of twelve days, the memory of which has been dear to Washington and Lafayette, he left Mount Vernon, and arrived on the 31st instant at Baltimore. We shall not weary our readers with accounts of the en-

thusiasm which prevailed wherever he came; suffice it to say, the whole nation seemed actuated by one soul, so unanimous were the demonstrations of joy every where.

After passing through the principal towns in his route, from Maryland to Maine, in all which he was received with the same demonstrations of joy and gratitude, he returned to Boston, where he embarked in a frigate for the Chesapeake; he thence returned to Mount Vernon, stopping at the principal towns through which he passed on his way.

In 1784, most of the states, during the absence of General Lafayette, passed laws, naturalizing him and his male descendants. Among the rest, Maryland passed the following one: "Whereas, the general assembly of the state of Maryland is desirous of perpetuating a name so dear to all, and to recognize the Marquis de Lafayette, for one of its own citizens; one who, at the age of eighteen, left his country, risked his life in the vicissitudes of the revolution, &c. Therefore, it is declared by the general assembly of Maryland, that the Marquis de Lafayette, and his male descendants for ever, shall be, and each is hereby acknowledged and held as citizens born in this state, and henceforth shall enjoy the rights, privileges, and immunities of natural born citizens; provided that he conform himself to the constitution and laws of this state," &c. &c.

At Annapolis, Lafayette received the last paternal benedictions of Washington; and took an affectionate farewell of his numerous friends. I leave to the reader to paint to himself the feelings of all parties, during this affecting scene. After passing through Baltimore and Philadelphia, he arrived at Trenton, New-Jersey, on the eighth of December, where he took leave of congress, which had been convened there for some months past.

This assembly appointed a committee, consisting of one member from each state, to receive him, and in the name of congress to take leave of him in such a manner as might strongly manifest their esteem and regard for him. And they were instructed "to assure him that congress continued to entertain the same high sense of his abilities and zeal to promote the welfare of America, both here and in Europe, which they have frequently

expressed and manifested on former occasions. That the United States regard him with particular affection, and will not cease to feel an interest in whatever may concern his honor and prosperity, and that their best and kindest wishes will always attend him. Congress resolved also that a letter be written to his most Christian Majesty, expressive of the high sense which the United States, in congress assembled, entertain of the zeal, talents and meritorious services of the Marquis de Lafayette, and recommending him to the favor and patronage of his majesty. The marquis made a very respectful and affectionate reply, in which he expressed the lively feelings of a heart devoted to the welfare of our rising empire, and gratefully acknowledged that at a time when an inexperienced youth, he was favored with his respected friend's paternal adoption. He thus concludes his address: "May this immense temple of freedom ever stand as a lesson to oppressors, an example to the oppressed, a sanctuary for the rights of mankind; and may these happy United States attain that complete splendor and prosperity which will illustrate the blessings of their government, and for ages to come rejoice the departed souls of its founders. Never can congress oblige me so much as when they put it in my power, in every part of the world, to the latest day of my life, to testify the attachment which will ever rank me among the most zealous and respectful servants of the United States."

From Trenton he went to New-York, where a frigate was waiting for him, and after a stay of ten days, he embarked at Whitehall for France. From the forts on the battery, the standard of the United States waved to him its stars and stripes, and thirteen cannon announced the number of states that grieved over his departure.

In casting our eyes over the journals of congress, we feel pleasure in observing, how often that body publicly expressed its approbation of General Lafayette.

We shall close this chapter with a few reflections suggested by the nature of these memoirs. The character of Lafayette in America, rests on a foundation which the strictest scrutiny would only render more firm. There is not, in his whole life, one moment in which he has not sustained the glorious reputation which we so

much admire. I have already observed, that his steady courage was only to be equalled by his prudence and military knowledge, which endeared him so much to the nation; and we even may doubt, whether he appeared the more conspicuous for his prudence or his benevolence. Among the innumerable instances of the latter, we shall only mention his saving Captain Butler, a British officer. It will serve as an additional illustration of the pitiful duplicity of Arnold, who, after his treachery, undertook to convince the British people that he had always shed English blood with infinite regret. About the close of the year 1777, or the beginning of 1778, the marquis arrived at Albany, at the moment Butler was about to be executed by the order of Arnold. Butler was certainly criminal; but the marquis discovered that there had been some irregularity in the proceedings; and he took advantage of this to save him.

CHAPTER XII.

Lafayette's return to France—His travels through a part of Germany, in 1785—His philanthropy at his return in 1786.

LAFAYETTE, used to an active and busy life, and feeling the want of instruction and relaxation, determined to make a tour through a part of Germany, and become personally acquainted with the two great rulers of a country against which so many prejudices reigned at the time. He was particularly desirous to be presented to Frederic II., king of Prussia, and Joseph II., emperor of Austria, and brother of the queen of France, Maria Antoinette. He went first to the court of Cassel; and although he carried with him the republican principles for which he was distinguished at the court of France, he was not the less, on that account, treated with respect and kindness. He passed from Cassel to Berlin, and stopped at the courts of most of the German princes, who all received him with distinguished honors, and the emperor Joseph in particular. Professors of the universities, students, the clergy, nobles, princes and people, all pressed to see the hero whose name stood foremost in the

lists of fame. I have heard it asserted, that persons rode six hundred miles to see him.

But he remained the greater part of his time in the court of Frederic. The autumn of 1785 was now at hand, the time fixed by the king of Prussia for the grand review at Potsdam. At this place were assembled fifty thousand men, from every part of the kingdom, who for three successive days went through the evolutions of battles, sieges and storms, under the immediate command of the king himself. I have been twice present at these magnificent reviews, one at Tempelhoff, a village four miles distant from Berlin, and one at Magdebourg. I have seen the great Frederic, mounted on his white charger, with his little three-cornered cocked hat on his head, his threadbare blue jacket, and his opera glass in his hand, commanding thirty thousand picked men, and surrounded by his brilliant circle of staff officers. He followed, with his glass, the evolutions of the different corps—and wo to the man who blundered; he was instantly cashiered.

It was at these reviews that the princes of the blood received their commissions, after serving from six to twelve months as cadets, carrying a musket and cartridge-box, and mounting guard as common soldiers, in their turn, for twenty-four hours together. If their arms and uniform, which they are obliged to keep clean themselves, are not in perfect order, they are punished, by being put under arrest, or by being deprived of some privileges: for, as the Prussian policy has been of the military order from the time of the grand elector, Frederic William, to the present day, all the royal princes begin by serving as common soldiers, and are promoted successively through the different ranks of offices; the duties belonging to each of which is required to be properly discharged. So rigidly was this rule observed, that I have seen the present king, when prince royal under Frederic William, on guard before the door of tents of the cadets, at Berlin. They receive only the common pay, eating with the mess, and, in a word, under the same discipline and hardships as the other soldiers. If they misbehave, report is made to the king, and they are severely punished; while, on the other hand, if they behave well, they are praised, and rewarded with a gold

Frederic, value about three dollars, and never more. As soon as they attain to the rank of ensign, they are equipped by the king, and are placed in one of the regiments of the guards, when they have, for the first time, the honor of assisting at the grand reviews.

It is at these reviews that the promotions, punishments, and rewards are published, by being read three times at the head of each company. Frederic always directed these personally, and as its extreme severity and exact justice was well known, each applied himself to his own particular business. It was by this means that the Prussian army, under him, possessed the most experienced officers in the world. The young noblemen were obliged to pass through the same course of preparatory study as the princes. If our militia would imitate the example of Prussian discipline, they would be absolutely invincible.

As the discipline and tactics of the Prussian army were in high repute, vast numbers of foreign officers, and strangers of distinction, were attracted together on these occasions. The encampment formed by their tents resembled an immense city.

Lafayette arrived at Potsdam in September, 1785, after the review was already begun. As soon as Frederic heard that Gen. Lafayette was present, he despatched an aid-de-camp to invite him to the palace of Sans-Souci. Here he had several long audiences with him; and after Frederic had expressed his admiration of Washington and of Lafayette, he took from a box his miniature, set with diamonds, and kindly said, that since he was obliged to be separated from the general, he hoped this little memento would sometimes recal him to recollection; and then presented the miniature to Lafayette.

Frederic, who knew that Lafayette was closely united, and had frequent intercourse with the Dutch patriots, even during his stay at Berlin, sent the duke of Brunswick from Potsdam to Berlin, to explain to him, (Lafayette,) that his intention was not at all to support the English influence in Holland; that he could assure the cabinet of Versailles, "his pretensions were only limited by wishing to preserve an honorable station for the stadtholder and his children;* and that he would observe

* The princess of Orange was the niece of Frederic II., and the sister of Frederic William II.

a strict neutrality between the two, the Orangeists, and the patriots, if France wished not to abandon the stadtholdership." Lafayette wrote immediately this communication of Frederic, already sick, to the French minister, Count de Vergennes, who hastened to assure the court of Berlin that this was not its intention. This fact alone, shows plainly how much Frederic honored Gen. Lafayette with his confidence.

When we reflect on the stern, unbending, and despotic character of Frederic, we cannot but be astonished at the favorable reception of Lafayette, the champion of liberty, by one who had but little sympathy for his noble feelings—by one who was the first author of the division of Poland!

Frederic's principal aim was to have respected as coming from God, that authority which he held in virtue of his talents and his bayonets. The only recreation which he allowed himself during the time he shook off the burthensome yoke of representation, was when in his interior, in the morning, he locked himself up with his favorite dogs, with which he played like a child, and in the evening at his exquisite suppers. Here, surrounded by Maupertuis, Voltaire, d'Alembert, de la Mettrie, and other men of talent, he spoke plainly and clearly, and permitted others to do the same. Maupertuis spoke always with great caution; Voltaire, bold and unreserved, adorned, nevertheless, his thoughts in a witty and pleasant manner, and excited hilarity; la Mettrie, stiff, and sententious, spoke in a dry and abusive manner. One day, much excited by champaigne, the latter advised a radical and bold general reform in the Prussian government, and extended it even to the royal family and the king; Frederic, who listened in great and sad silence, interrupted the talkative orator suddenly, by knocking with the handle of his fork with great vehemence upon the table, and exclaiming, with a voice of thunder, "*Gentlemen, gentlemen, here comes the king!*" The reformers became mute, and the conversation turned upon other matters.*

* Louis XV., displeased on having by chance overheard, in the conversation of two courtiers, some expressions not very satisfactory to himself, showed to one of them an unusual and sad dryness. The courtier, suspecting the truth, showed in his turn much confusion and anxiety. The king said to him, in his usual good humored tone, "I promise you, sir, the king shall not know a word of it!"

Being, in 1793, attached to the staff of Gen. Hêche, I had some urgent business

Lafayette saw, during the great manœuvres at Potsdam, for the first time, the use of the horse-artillery, and pledged himself to introduce that species of force into the French army, as soon as possible.

On his return to his native country, he wrote a long and remarkable letter to Gen. Washington, communicating the occurrences at the courts he had visited, and especially at that of Prussia, whose aged and distinguished monarch, uniting the acquirements of the scholar with the most profound skill in the art of war, could bestow either literary or military fame; he dwelt with enthusiasm on the plaudits which were universally bestowed on his military patron and paternal friend. "I wish," he added, "the other sentiments I have had occasion to discover with respect to America, were equally satisfactory with those that are personal to yourself. I need not say, that the spirit, the firmness, with which the revolution was conducted, has excited universal admiration—that every friend to the rights of mankind, is an enthusiast for the principles on which these institutions are built: but I have often had the mortification to hear that the want of powers in congress, of union between the states, of energy in their government, would make the confederation very insignificant. By their conduct in the revolution," he added, "the citizens of America have commanded the respect of the world; but it grieves me to think they will in a measure lose it, unless they strengthen the confederation, give congress power to regulate the trade, pay off their debt, or at least, the interest of it, establish a well-regulated militia, and, in a word, complete all those measures which you have recommended to them."

On his return to Paris, the ministers as well as the parliament were anxious to adjoin him to their labors, but he would never accept any office. His independent and ardent mind could not bear any other suggestions than those imposed upon him by the duties of philan-

to transact in the city of Angers. Our camp was twelve miles from it, and not the least appearance of a battle. I asked therefore leave of Gen. Hoche, of absence for twenty-four hours. The general had treated me always with great kindness and affection, and when I had stated to him my reasons, he asked me, "To whom do you direct your request for leave of absence? to your general or to your friend?" I understood him, and answered with some quickness, "It is to my good and generous friend Hoche!" "Go, my young friend," said Hoche, pressing my hand, "the general shall know nothing of your short absence."

thropy and freedom. He turned now, in conjunction with Malesherbes, his attention to the condition of the protestants, in whose interest he had, since the year 1785, made a voyage to Nismes, although he was bred a Catholic ; and with the concurrence of Marshal de Castries, he had also devoted a considerable sum to the purpose of effecting the gradual emancipation of the negroes. A society was formed at Paris, under the name of the society of *Friends to the Blacks*, which named a committee, composed of Gregoire, Mirabeau, la Rochefoucault, Condorcet, and Lafayette, which met at the hotel of de la Rochefoucault. Lafayette had ordered the purchase of many hundred negroes in Cayenne, and had sent them to his different estates, where he tried to civilize them by degrees, by mild and slow means. Lafayette himself put these means in practice, with all the ardor of a benevolent and philanthropic mind. Madame de Lafayette supported him powerfully, and took a true maternal charge of the females and their young children. Both the general and his wife succeeded soon to be blessed by these poor beings. But the party which triumphed on the 10th of August, 1792, seized some of these unfortunate men, who had been purchased at Cayenne for the purpose of being restored to liberty, and they were, in spite of the remonstrances of Madame de Lafayette, sold publicly as slaves !

Lafayette aided the ambassador, Jefferson, in the formation of a league against the Barbary corsairs—a league which the courts of Versailles and London, taking these pirates under their protection, rendered ineffective.

PART II.

LAFAYETTE IN FRANCE.

CHAPTER XIII.

Short sketch of the political state of Europe—Honor conferred upon Lafayette—His influence in Holland—Convocation of the Notables—States-General 1787, 1788.

THE first part of Lafayette's long and glorious career, was, undoubtedly, the most happy and successful. The extraordinary circumstances in the political and military events in both worlds, so beneficial to the sacred cause of mankind, so glorious for the United States, so rich and varied in their effects, all appeared to contribute to favor his designs, to support him in the execution of his extended, bold and generous plans, and to raise him, by its brilliant and well-deserved success, above the ordinary course of human greatness. Endowed with uncommon talents, Lafayette was fortunate enough to seize the opportunity, to struggle manfully against a thousand dangers, and to search, by crossing the seas, and abandoning a beloved wife, friends, comfort, and country, to develop these brilliant gifts, not for selfish views, but for the benefit of mankind.

In examining this first epoch in Lafayette's life, we must admire the astonishing progress of a youthful hero, skilful and bold in war, wise in his demeanor, ardent and faithful in his friendships, profound and eloquent in his negotiations, unassuming in all his actions. The spirit of Washington contributed greatly to his perfections. Washington was his father, his friend, his Mentor. In riper years, Lafayette never suffered his venerable image to be out of sight; Washington, near or distant, was constantly the guide, the model of Lafayette's actions.

In departing from this point of view, it will not be astonishing to see Lafayette committing many mistakes,

and even faults, when he acted in France as he used to act in America. In the course of these memoirs, I shall have opportunity to show the sad consequences of these errors. He repeated the same error at the Hotel de Ville, after the revolution of July, 1830. In both epochs, the consequences have been fatal for him, (Lafayette,) for the liberties of France and the nations in Europe.

The tranquillity of Europe at the death of Louis XV., (10th of May, 1774,) was disturbed by the attempt, in America, to throw off the government of England. The effort was successful, and the confederation of the United States, and the independence of the greater part of North America, was the result. The war, however, was carried on between the Americans, the English, the French and the Spaniards only; the other European states continuing in a state of neutrality. The maritime powers, nevertheless, in order to make their neutrality respected, were obliged to form a coalition amongst themselves.

The treaty of Paris at length put an end to the war, and commerce was again renewed among the different nations.

The Porte brought forward various causes of complaint against Russia, and Russia accused the Porte, in return, of having excited the Persians against her. Catharine II., ambitious of glory, and emboldened by success, was far from thinking her empire sufficiently extended by the partition of Poland and the possession of the Crimea. Prussia and England, alarmed by the treaty of commerce which France had just concluded with Russia, (1787,) endeavored to persuade the Turks that the cabinet of Versailles had deserted them for the purpose of forming an alliance with Russia. The journey of Catharine into the Crimea, the raising a hundred thousand soldiers in the Ukraine, and an army of sixty thousand Austrians on the frontiers of Silesia, confirmed the belief, and a declaration of war between the Sublime Porte and Russia and Austria was the consequence.

Denmark, carefully preserving her neutrality, was constantly occupied in extending her commerce, and increasing her prosperity.

The king of Sweden, oppressing his subjects by his very triumphs, and stimulated with vanity and ambition,

waited with impatience for some opportunity to increase his power and extend his territories, by conquest.

Poland appeared resigned to the hard fate which she was unable to oppose, but still nourished a hope of revenge, which the breaking out of the war in the east seemed to afford an opportunity of gratifying.

Prussia was threatened with the loss of Frederic, and with the prospect of seeing his nephew, who had formerly given great promise, abandon himself to pleasure, and the charlatanism of the Illuminati, while he would feebly grasp the reins of government, which were held with so much firmness by his uncle. She meditated, however, the taking possession of Dantzic, and profiting by the weak and temporizing course of France towards Holland. She therefore powerfully strengthened her influence, by sending the Duke of Brunswick, with twenty thousand men, into that country, who, in twenty days, took possession of the whole United Provinces, and placed them under the control of the stadtholder. This step of Frederic William II. excited resentment every where, in the minds of the friends of liberty, while, at the same time, it misled the despotic governments, by inducing the belief that the same means might succeed with equal facility elsewhere.

Under the government of an elector, and of wise laws, Saxony was rapidly recovering from the evils with which the seven years' war had overwhelmed her.

The republic of Holland was badly constructed, and its defects produced frequent and violent disturbances, in 1786, under the government of William V., who seemed destitute of the talents requisite for his situation.

The Emperor Joseph II., discouraged by the result of the seven years' war, as well as that on account of the Bavarian succession in 1778, had been obliged to renounce the idea of reconquering Silesia, and of executing his projects upon Bavaria.

Switzerland continued to enjoy, in the larger cantons, rather quiet than liberty, which seemed to have taken refuge in the mountainous and less frequented cantons.

Italy, which had the good fortune to enjoy a peace of forty years, appeared to be no longer subject to the storms which lowered over the rest of the world.

Spain continued to be at once the poorest and richest nation on the globe.

Portugal, at this period, was wholly dependent on England.

Exhausted by a war of nearly six years' duration, carried on in every sea, and in both the Indies, and alarmed at the loss of her American colonies, Great Britain aimed at retrieving her affairs at the expense of the preponderating powers, and again altering the face of Europe. With this view, she commenced a system of intrigue and management in the different cabinets, which resulted in a degree of success beyond her hopes.

France, too proud, perhaps, of having aided in establishing the independence of the United States, enjoyed, under an excessively weak monarch, a state of tranquillity and apparent prosperity. She had just terminated, with glory, a war which had given a final blow to her finances, a fact of which she seemed entirely ignorant. The overthrow of the British power in India, the capture of Canada, and perhaps of Jamaica, all seemed to be practicable, but neither of them was accomplished. After having consented, however, to the partition of Poland, the invasion and humiliation of Holland, the capture of Dantzic, and the declaration of war against Turkey, France might still have succeeded in forming an alliance with Russia, Spain, and Austria, to oppose the growing ambition of England and Prussia.

At the age of twenty-nine, General Lafayette was agreeably surprised by an unexpected tribute of honor conferred upon him; which was no less than a resolution, passed by the legislature of the state of Virginia, to place his bust in the capitol. The following is an extract of a letter from Mr. Jefferson, minister plenipotentiary of the United States, addressed to the *Prévôt des marchands* and municipality of Paris:

"The legislature of the state of Virginia, in consideration of the services of Major General the Marquis de Lafayette, has resolved to place his bust in their capitol. This intention of erecting a monument to his virtues, and to the sentiments with which he has inspired them, in the country to which they are indebted for his birth, has induced a hope that the city of Paris would consent to be-

come the depository of a second proof of their gratitude. Charged by the state with the execution of this resolution, I have the honor to solicit the Prévot des marchands and municipality of Paris to accept the bust of this brave officer, and give it a situation where it may continually awaken the admiration and witness the respect of the allies of France.

"Dated 17th September, 1786."

In consequence of this letter, the Baron de Breteuil, minister and secretary of state for the department of Paris, wrote to the Prévot, &c., that the king, to whom had been submitted the proposition, approved of the bust being erected by the city. Accordingly, the council assembled on the 28th of September, and Mr. Short, an old member of the council of the state of Virginia, (Mr. Jefferson being confined by indisposition,) came to the city hall of Paris to present the bust, executed by Mr. Houdon, and to read the letter addressed to the Prévot, &c., by Mr. Jefferson, as also the resolutions of the state of Virginia. Mr. Pelletier de Morfontaine, counsellor of state, and Prévot des marchands, opened the meeting by stating its object, handed to Mr. Veytard, the chief clerk, all the documents he possessed, to read; after which, Mr. Ethit de Corny, attorney-general and knight of the order of Cincinnatus, delivered an address, in which he recounted, in an interesting and impressive manner, Lafayette's services in North America, the confidence of the army in him, and attachment of the people to him. In his capacity of attorney-general he gave the requisite instructions for the reception of the bust, agreeably to the wish of the king. It was, accordingly, placed in one of the galleries of the city hall.

This interesting and novel ceremony produced, upon the innumerable spectators, the most affecting impressions. A gentleman who was present, made a very happy application of the remark of Tacitus on Germanicus, *Fruitur fama.*

When Holland was menaced by Prussia, it appears from the printed work of M. de Segur, and from a letter written by M. de Saint Priest, that Lafayette would have been invited to their aid, by the Batavian patriots, if the treachery of the French ministry had not hastened

their ruin. The Count de St. Priest, French ambassador, addressed to Gen. Lafayette, in his letter, dated Antwerp, Sept. 26, 1787, among others, the following remarkable words: *You are desired in Holland.*

When Lafayette heard of this treachery, the indignation he manifested on this occasion, was similar to that which he recently displayed at the tribune, when the present government acted the same part with respect to the Austrian invasion of Italy, as the archbishop of Sens did with respect to the Prussian invasion of Holland under the Duke of Brunswick.

The finances of France were so exhausted by the war between England and the United States, in which she took an active part, that several provinces found it impossible to pay their proportion of taxation. Many of the farmers abandoned the lands of their ancestors, in those less fertile countries, where the harvests would not enable them to pay the sums levied by the merciless tax-gatherer. The expenses of the state surpassed the means of payment; the disorders of the court were at their greatest height, and unless some efficient means were immediately resorted to, a national bankruptcy would be inevitable. Necker was twice called to the head of the finances, and twice exiled; he was, perhaps, the only man capable of saving France, if he had had any other master than Louis XVI. The intrigues of Lomenie de Brienne, archbishop of Toulouse, supported by the queen Marie Antoinette and the Polignacs, brought him at the head of the French ministry. He hated all innovation, all necessary reform, by which only France could be saved, and became one of the principal authors of the revolution.

The assembly of Notables was convoked in April, 1787, and Lafayette was nominated one of the members of the committee under Count d'Artois. He there read four memorials, extremely interesting, and filled with sound practical views and plans for the internal management of France. He exhibited frankly and ably to the king, the wretched state of France, vitally wounded, demanding, in every direction, reform and abolition of numberless abuses.

As much spirit had been evinced at the last meeting of the council, at which the Count d'Artois presided, he

could not avoid showing his dissatisfaction, especially to the marquis; but he, whose patriotism had been as disinterested and active as his courage and abilities had been useful to America, requested permission to read another memorial, signed by himself, begging at the same time, the Count d'Artois to submit it to his majesty in his (Lafayette's) own name. The committee having unanimously agreed to hear the memorial of Lafayette, and entirely approving of its contents, the bishop of Langres promised to carry it to the assembly after Lent, together with all the proofs of the assertions it contained.

Before the memorial was read, M. de Lafayette found himself placed in very delicate circumstances. The Count d'Artois had expressed his opinion, that it was decidedly too emphatic and too personal, from the very first phrase, which ran nearly thus: "We are requested by the king, in pointing out particular abuses, to subjoin our opinions with our signatures thereto. That which I commented stating last Saturday, (13th March,) is worthy of the earliest attention. I shall profit by this permission, my lord, with that zeal, impartiality and liberty, which I have always exercised."

Under these circumstances, more than ordinary presence of mind, added to very disinterested patriotism, were necessary to support him. M. de Lafayette was not in the least intimidated; and frankly replied to his royal highness, that he had the right by birth to lay his representations at the foot of the throne.

M. de Castillon, general procurator of the parliament at Aix, supported Lafayette, and among other things, told him, that he would undertake to state, in behalf of all the members of the council, that his appeal was perfectly just; that they conceived themselves bound by a sense of duty to support him throughout: and that the committee would co-operate with him, in attempting to bring about a redress of the grievances of which he complained. Another of the members, hurried on by the warmth of his enthusiasm, said to Lafayette: "Your achievements in America had already enrolled your name in the list of heroes; but never before have you so justly deserved that glorious distinction. How happy I should be, if there were a sculptor present, to perpetuate your zeal for the welfare of your country and your king."

It was with much difficulty that Lafayette could reply to this enthusiastic flattery ; after which he finished reading his memorial, addressing himself to the president of the committee, Count d'Artois.

He then demanded, successively, a series of reforms ; the suppression of the prisons of state, and the *lettres de cachet* ; called for the convocation of the national assembly, and obtained a resolution, favoring the civil condition of the protestants, of whom, as well as the patriotic Batavians, he had been at all times the warmest and most zealous protector.

Though possessed of large estates in Brittany,* he joined the opposition party of that province, and supported the motion of Mirabeau, to remove the troops from that province, which the court had sent there.

He, unseconded, made now a formal demand for the convocation of a national assembly. "What!" said the Count d'Artois, "do you make a motion for the states-general?" "Yes ; and even more than that," was his reply. This *more*, was to obtain from the king a charter, by which the public and individual liberty should be acknowledged and guaranteed by the future states-general.

On the 4th May, the eve of the opening of the states-general, the members of the several orders walked in solemn procession to the church of St. Louis, at Versailles. The mass of the Holy Ghost was solemnly celebrated, and a sermon preached by the bishop of Nancy. Scarcely had he pronounced the words, *public liberty*, when the orator was interrupted with such a thunder of reiterated applause, that the king and his whole court were filled with awe. This was so much the more extraordinary, as never before any mark of applause or reproof was manifested in a sermon ; and even when the king was at the theatre, it was not permitted to applaud. Here the king was present at a *sermon*, and all the laws of etiquette vanished at once by a sudden magic impression,

* M. de Lafayette had inherited, in his own right and his wife's, very considerable property in Brittany, Auvergne, Brie, and particularly in Touraine. All the tenants and peasantry attached to their estates cherished the warmest affection for this exemplary couple. They were beloved and blessed by many thousands, whom they had rescued from the depths of misery ; and all the lands of Lafayette were distinguished from those belonging to other proprietors, by the ease and comfort of the tenants, among whom was not to be found a single mendicant or idler.

received by thousands, at the sacred words of *public liberty* ! What a lesson for all those crowned heads who wish to suppress it ! Louis, and much more Marie Antoinette, felt dejected, but hope dazzled their eyes ; and a doom, horrid, and not entirely undeserved, became their lot.

And what fate is reserved for Louis Philippe, the hypocritical juggler, the tyrannical, wilful oppressor of public liberty in France ? Is he not a thousand times more criminal than Louis ?

CHAPTER XIV.

French Revolution—14th of July, 1789—Bailly Maire—Lafayette commander of the National Guards—Tri-colored cockade—Declaration of the Rights of Man—Lafayette resigns, and again accepts his commission—He contributes to the reform of the criminal jurisprudence—Debates on the new constitution.

THE year 1789 awakened the European nations from their lethargic slumber : mankind commenced to understand the high destiny of their existence. A powerful, brave and enlightened nation had by degrees sunk to a state of oppression and misery, whilst a few vile and profligate and selfish beings lived at their expense, in idleness and splendor, and trampled, with an audacious impunity, upon the rights of their fellow-creatures, whom they treated like a flock of sheep.

The first rays of this memorable revolution, were greeted by all those whose minds were strong enough to feel its future benignity. But the great body of the people, and even men of ordinary intelligence, not prepared to bear its too sudden blessings, were dazzled : passions, selfishness, corruption, discordance and hatred, darkened these rays ; and millions of human beings were doomed to slaughter. The French revolution, nevertheless, has enlightened and elevated the character of man ; spread light and liberal ideas among the nations ; and has, in general, been beneficial to mankind.

Lafayette had, since the first convocation of the notables, in 1787, spoken freely against the numerous abuses of the government, but the evil increased daily. The convocation of the states-general assembled a mass of ta-

lents, heterogeneous, composed of parts highly irritable, and in direct opposition to each other; thus the evil could but increase. The *Tiers*, alone, in direct opposition to the deputies of the nobility and the clergy, gave the example of patriotism, courage, and firmness. The court thought to crush at once all opposition, by surrounding itself with numerous troops. But Mirabeau demanded, in an eloquent speech, to put them at the disposition of the assembly; he prescribed it to the ministers, in an address to the king, in which he requested him to grant it. The assembly, strongly agitated, had, nevertheless, not sanctioned the motion of Mirabeau, when Lafayette rose, supported, and carried it.

As soon as the news of M. Necker's departure was spread abroad in Paris, the streets were barricadoed, and all the inhabitants formed themselves into a national guard, assuming some sort of military dress, and laying hold of whatever weapon first offered, whether musket, sabre or scythe. Multitudes of men of the same opinion, embraced each other in the streets, like brothers; and the army of the people of Paris, consisting of more than a hundred thousand men, was formed in an instant, as if by a miracle. The Bastile, that citadel of arbitrary power, was taken on the 14th of July, 1789. The Baron de Breteuil, who boasted that he would put an end to the crisis in three days, remained only that number of days in office—long enough, however, to contribute to the overthrow of the royal power.

The king was brought to Paris for the purpose of approving, at the *Hotel de Ville*, that revolution which had just taken place against his power. His religious tranquillity preserved his personal dignity on this, as on all ensuing occasions; but his authority was at an end: and, if the chariots of kings ought not to drag nations in their train, it is, on the other hand, unbecoming in a nation to make a king the ornament of its triumph. The apparent homage rendered on such an occasion to a dethroned sovereign, is revolting to a generous mind. Never can liberty be established, when either the monarch or people are in a false situation. Each, to be sincere, must be in possession of his rights. Constraint, imposed on the head of a government, can never be the basis of the constitutional independence of a country.

The 14th of July, although marked by assassinations on the part of the populace, was yet a day of grandeur: the movement was national; no faction, either foreign or domestic, would have been able to excite such enthusiasm. All France participated in it, and the emotion of a whole people is always connected with true and natural feeling. The most honorable names, Bailly, Lafayette, Lally, were proclaimed by the public opinion; the silence of a country governed by a court, was exchanged for the sound of spontaneous acclamations of all the citizens. The minds of the people were exalted; but as yet there was nothing but purity in their souls; and the conquerors had not had time to contract those haughty passions, from which the strongest party in France is scarcely able ever to preserve itself.

The Bastille conquered, the populace marched in triumph to the Hotel de Ville. The municipality had chosen Hesselles, provost of the merchants, to preside. He undertook to amuse the people, promising them arms, and indicating where they were to be found. Exasperated by finding this information false, the provost of the merchants was massacred by the same hands as the governor of the Bastille.

Louis, seeing himself abandoned by his bad advisers, the Count d'Artois, the Baron de Breteuil, the Polignacs, &c., who emigrated, hurried to the national assembly, intending to make peace with it, to proclaim his amity and sincere cordiality with it, and to crave its support and interference to restore order to the capital. At the same time, he announced that orders were given that the troops should retire from the capital. The national assembly, thus master of the sovereign, sent a deputation to take the capital, and to organize anew its authorities, those of the monarchy having lost all influence. Bailly, formerly president, a man of letters and probity, headed this deputation, which was received with enthusiasm. Bailly himself was chosen to preside over the municipality, as mayor of Paris, in the place of the murdered Hesselles. The civil authority had now a chief and a representative. A commander of the troops was wanted, who could inspire confidence, and direct its strength and action towards the support of liberty and the laws. At first, the Marquis de la Salle was propo-

sed; but some objections being made, although unjustly, against his patriotism, the members of the common council appeared to hesitate. The bust of Lafayette, placed in one corner of the hall, attracted the attention of Moreau de St. Mery, one of the members. He pointed with his finger towards it: every eye followed the direction, and all doubt vanished at once. Lafayette was unanimously elected commander of all the National Guards of France, which put him at the head of more than four millions of armed citizens; the king approved his nomination. He accepted the appointment, but refused any pay, any indemnification, (a salary of two hundred thousand francs a year.) He acted here as he did in America.

Lafayette and Lally Tolendal, who was of the deputation of the assembly to the Hotel de Ville, told the Parisians, that Louis was now cordially united with the national assembly. "He has hitherto been deceived," said Lafayette and Lally Tolendal, "but he now sees the merit and justness of the popular cause." The enthusiasm was general on this explication being made. Tears of joy were shed. The revolution seemed already to have closed its list of horrors and of change.

Bailly, the new mayor, entertained this opinion; but he was soon undeceived. The suspicions of the populace returned. But the ambitious duke of Orleans, aspiring to be elected lieutenant-general of the kingdom, after having attained the destruction of Louis, had secret agents, who excited and bribed the people to fresh sedition. Already murmurs arose among the populace, of the necessity of marching to Versailles and bringing back the monarch. A deputation from the city was ordered to demand it. Louis anticipated their coming and request, by stating his readiness to visit Paris.

He accordingly proceeded thither on the 17th. Lafayette had previously proposed to unite the color of the lily to that of the city of Paris, (red and blue,) and thus presented the tri-colored cockade to the assembly of electors. In addressing this body, he said to them: "Gentlemen: I bring you a cockade which shall make the tour of the world; and, (in speaking of the National Guard,) an institution, at once civic and military, which shall change the system of European tactics, and reduce all absolute governments to the alternative of being beat-

en, if they do not imitate it, or of being overthrown, if they dare to imitate it." The tri-colored cockade was received by acclamation.

Arrived at the gates of Paris, Louis was welcomed by the Mayor Bailly and Lafayette, at the head of two hundred thousand National Guards. The cockade being presented to him by Bailly, at the Hotel de Ville, he assumed it cheerfully, and bade the mayor state for him to the municipality, that he approved of their acts. This royal adhesion to the revolution being given, Louis returned to Versailles. Some well-informed writers of that epoch assure us, that nothing is more probable, than that assassination was intended by the great mover of the base part of the rabble, the Duke of Orleans. They shrunk, however, from this attempt. A woman was, nevertheless, shot close to the royal carriage.

A few days after his nomination as commander of the national guard, Lafayette was the first who proposed the declaration of the rights of man and citizenship, and addressed the assembly in these memorable words:

"Although my powers do not grant me the right of voting among you,* it is my duty to lay my opinion before you.

"You have been presented with the declaration of rights, as the first object of your labor and attention.

"That declaration is indispensable. It is not founded upon metaphysical opinions, but upon the very basis of social order.

"It is of the first importance that those rights, which are engraven on every man's heart, should be distinctly and unequivocally recognized.

"Yet it is my opinion that this declaration should be confined to a statement of the unalienable rights of man, and of man, as we find him, in a state of society.

"I have now the honor to submit the first model of such a declaration.

"I am far from insisting that it shall be adopted as it is; I only ask that it be copied, to be circulated freely among the different committees."

M. de Lally Tolendal arose and said: "With the

* As commander of the National Guards, with a salary of two hundred thousand francs. He declined to accept any reward, although the Commune of Paris insisted, at different times, to pay him. He also declined the title of president, and chose that of commandant of the National Guard.

exception of a few lines, which admit, perhaps, of some little discussion, I second the motion which has just been offered. All the principles contained therein, are the sacred emanations of truth; all the sentiments are noble and sublime. The author of the motion now displays as much eloquence in speaking of liberty, as he has already shown courage in defending it."

This famous declaration of rights is as follows :

"Nature has made men free and equal. The distinctions necessary for social order, are only founded on general utility.

"Every man is born with rights inalienable and imperishable; such are, the liberty of all his opinions, the care of his honor and his life, the right of property, the uncontrolled disposal of his person, his industry, and all his faculties; the communication of all his thoughts, by all possible means; the pursuit of happiness, and the resistance of oppression.

"The exercise of natural rights has no limits, but such as will insure their enjoyment to other members of society.

"No man can be subject to any laws, excepting those which have received the assent of himself or his representatives, and which are promulgated beforehand and applied legally.

"The principle of all sovereignty resides in the nation. Nobody, no individual can possess authority which does not expressly emanate from it.

"Government has for its sole object the general welfare. This interest requires that the legislative, executive, and judicial powers, should be distinct and defined, and that their organization should secure the free representation of the citizens, the responsibility of the agents, and the impartiality of the judges.

"The laws ought to be clear, precise, and uniform, for all citizens.

"The subsidies ought to be freely consented to and fairly imposed.

"And as the introduction of abuses, and the right of succeeding generations, make the revision of every human establishment necessary, it must be allowed to the nation, to have, in certain cases, an extraordinary com-

vocation of deputies, whose sole object should be the examination and correction, if necessary, of the vices of the constitution."

Without wishing to go through all the events of the revolution, I must limit myself to those in which Lafayette acted a conspicuous part.

The confidence in Lafayette's military skill, and his civic virtues, was so great, that every province sent deputies to Paris, to proclaim him commandant-general of all the National Guards of France. This offer was made to him twice, and twice he protested, with great and decided energy, against such a nomination. In order to prevent, for the future, the election of any commandant-general, he proposed to the assembly to pass the formal decree, that in every province should be elected a commander of the National Guards, but no commander-in-chief, as dangerous to the liberty of the citizens. He accepted the command of the civic guards of Paris. He said to a deputation of the confederates, who came, the 17th of July, to take leave of him and testify their high admiration of his civic virtues and his great disinterestedness, amongst others, these remarkable words: "I have often told you, that the National Guards of France, united here by their deputies, should never present any address but to the national assembly and the king. Judge, now, if I can give my assent to the honorable, and, to me, so highly gratifying exception, which you condescend to show in my favor. No, gentlemen, no; permit me to consider this step but as a testimony of friendship, which you express towards your companions in arms at Paris, through the person of their commander."

Foulon, superintendent of the revenue, a peculiarly detested member of a detested profession, had been seized by some hired ruffians, who excited the mob against him, as one of the aristocratic conspirators. He was brought, on the 27th July, to the Hotel de Ville, then the centre of justice as of force. He was accused of having derided the sufferings of the people in famine, and to have bidden them to "eat hay." He was now brought with ignominy to the Hotel de Ville, the populace clamoring for his instant condemnation. In vain the mu-

nicipality urged that they did not form a court of justice; equally in vain did they affect to go through the forms of an interrogatory to gain time. Lafayette tried his eloquence and popularity. The rabble, impatient, rushed on Foulon, tore him forth, and hanged him to a lamp-post. His son-in-law, Berthier, was soon after brought in on the same charge. The mob held up to him the streaming head of Foulon, and laughed with delight at his recoil of horror. Berthier shared a similar fate.

Lafayette, highly disgusted, resigned his commission. The representations of the citizens, and particularly of the electors, and the virtuous Bailly, renewed in him the hope of being able to stop the acts of violence; and he again devoted himself to his arduous and humane duty. The sixty districts of Paris unanimously confirmed his nomination as commander, and pledged themselves, by special decrees, to second him in his efforts to preserve liberty and public order.

The peasantry of many of the provinces, imitated, in the mean time, the lower orders of the capital, in a crusade against the privileged classes; chateaux were burned, their Lords hunted forth, the possessors of birth and property menaced and proscribed. The deputies of the clergy and nobility, now resolved to resign those rights which rendered them odious. They, too, at least a great number, however fallen and despoiled and calumniated, felt the patriotic excitement of the time, and were prepared to make sacrifice of every distinction and claim. The attention of the assembly being turned, on the 4th of August, to the excesses of the peasantry, it was observed, that their resentment was justly called forth against the upholders of *taille and corvee*, and feudal abuses. On this, the Viscount de Noailles moved to abolish *corvees* and all marks of personal servitude. The Duke d'Aiguillon followed; and the first nobles of the land, amongst them the Marquis de La Fayette, came forward to sacrifice all seigniorial rights, jurisdiction and exemption. The clergy followed the example. In a single hour of excitement, the proudest aristocracy and the most unbending church, had levelled themselves with the peasant, and sacrificed those rights, rather than yield the smallest part of which they had, during the last ten

years, persisted in risking, and at length precipitated, monarchy and state.

Lafayette, from the time that he was placed at the head of the armed force of Paris, declared to the magistrates of that city, that he could not take upon himself to arrest any one, unless the accused were to be provided with counsel, a copy of the charge, the power of confronting witnesses and publicity given to the whole procedure. In consequence of this demand, Lafayette succeeded, on the 8th of September, not without great difficulty and the employment of his personal influence, in getting a deputation to be sent from the commune to the national assembly, to request some immediate reforms in criminal jurisprudence, such as the making of proceedings public, to allow to the accused advocates, the communication of the accusations to the accused, the free intercourse of the accused with their families and friends ; reforms which were exceedingly necessary. This decree passed, and has saved many thousand victims.

An interval of two months now passed over, without any flagrant scene of popular violence, owing greatly to the vigilance and activity of Lafayette and Bailly. The assembly employed the time in fixing the basis of the new constitution. The existence of but one chamber was voted by an overwhelming majority. It was the question of the royal *veto*, that excited difference. Sieyes would not allow of the word : he called it a letter de cachet against the will of the nation. The provincial towns sent addresses against the *veto*. The mob of the Palais Royal prepared a formidable deputation. Lafayette and Bailly stopped it at the gates of Paris. They had, for the time, recovered mastery of the popular mind. The king was advised, by Necker, to interfere, and state to the assembly his acceptance of the suspensive, rather than the absolute *veto*. The former was accordingly decreed. Thus a single representative chamber, and a sovereign possessed merely of the power of deferring a law by his dissent, formed the outlines of the new constitution.

CHAPTER XV.

Situation of France in September and October, 1789—Events of the 5th and 6th October—Removal of the King—Lafayette's address to the National Guards—Second refusal of Lafayette to become Commandant-General of all the National Guards in France—Preparations of the 14th July, 1790—Its celebration—Reflections upon Lafayette's conduct.

By the abolition of all seigniorial titles, rights, jurisdiction, and exemption, the privileged orders, which had so long weighed upon France, were swept away. The middle ranks succeeded to their place, and, in a great measure, to the difficulties and the envy of that place. The *Tiers* had been completely victorious in their struggle with the court, the clergy and the nobility. They were now powerful, the exclusive rulers of the destinies of France. Bailly and Lafayette, perfect representatives of their opinions, held the executive of the revolutionary realm, not yet extended, it is true, far beyond the circuit of the capital. But already the working class, the artisans, the needy, began to feel the weight of those above them, and to look even upon simple burgesses as aristocrats. The municipality was already clamored against and bullied by the mob, which only wanted writers, orators and demagogues, to lead it on in the path to power. These did not yet exist. The dragon's teeth were sown, indeed, but the crop of mutual slaughters had not yet reached maturity. The shadow of royalty and of a court also existed, and attracted towards it a considerable share of popular attention and animosity. This averted, for a time, the struggle that was still inevitable between the middle ranks of society and the lower.

Both the court and popular party had drawn breath: the former had recovered from its terrors, the latter had resumed its suspicion and impatience. Both conspired, the aristocracy as well as the rabble; whilst the middle ranks and the assembly were doomed to await and to submit to whichever should prove conqueror. Bailly and Lafayette in vain exerted themselves to keep the capital quiet.

The inhabitants of Paris had been, more than two months since, the prey of famine, despite the abundance

of the crop. The events of July and September, the tumultuous and frequent scenes, provoked by some exalted or malevolent speakers, at the Café de Foi in the Palais Royal, (the residence and property of the Duke of Orleans,) which irritated the people against the wealthy nobility, frightened the latter and determined them to emigrate. The lower classes were thus deprived of their support, and so were all those who lived from charity distributed at fixed days and weeks by the different convents and the clergy; the works were every where diminished, suspended, or not well paid.

The court was accused of increasing all these evils, and the people resumed the cry, "To Versailles! let us go to seek bread and the king at Versailles!" The courtiers were not displeased with this popular resolve, which they hoped would drive Louis to an open breach with the revolution. They saw no hope but in civil war, M. de Bouillé, a noble and a general, commanded at Metz, an important garrison of the frontiers. He was beloved by his soldiery. The thoughts of the queen and her counsellors were turned towards him as the restorer of the monarchy.

In the midst of this came the menaces, the complaints, and the deputation from Paris to the assembly. The court, recurring to its warlike ideas, brought the regiment of Flanders to Versailles. The orangery, the gardens were again occupied with troopers and body-guards. The municipality of Paris was alarmed. Lafayette himself spoke openly of the plot against liberty. The mob caught the suspicion. On the 2d of October, a banquet was given by the body-guards to the officers of the newly arrived regiment; those of the National Guard of Versailles were also invited. It took place in the palace theatre. Wine circulated; enthusiasm was excited. The soldiers of the regiment were admitted into the building: cups being handed to them, they drank to the health of the queen and king. With drawn swords, the banqueters pledged them. The queen, hearing of the fete, presented herself with the dauphin. A fresh effusion of loyalty ensued. Swords again flashed, with vows to support the royal cause, whilst the military band played the air of Richard Cœur de Lion; "*O Richard O mon roi, l'univers t'abandonne!*"

Accounts of the fete soon came to exasperate the Parisians, and to offer the agitators a pretext to excite tumult. The duke of Orleans, who might pretend to the regency, if the king was frightened away to Metz, had his interest in producing insurrection at this moment. A crowd of women was adroitly employed to besiege the guard and the Hotel de Ville. They could only be diverted from setting fire to the edifice, by an invitation to proceed to Versailles. The tocsin, in the mean time, was sounded. The rabble, armed with pikes, forks and sticks, crowded to the square, and exclaimed, "We want bread! to Versailles! Death to the aristocrats!" Lafayette stemmed this torrent during eight hours; but on learning that, from various quarters of the capital, several thousands of the mob were repairing to Versailles with arms and cannon, he demanded from the commune an order to proceed thither himself, with a portion of the National Guard, which some of the English writers represent ridiculously enough, as being, "not citizens, but mere mercenary troops!"

As various reports of these two eventful days have been given by different writers, each one with more or less partiality, I cannot do better than to translate the official report of Messrs. Le Fevre and de la Grey, on the events which passed Monday, 5th of October, 1789, dated Versailles, at 4 o'clock in the afternoon. It is as follows:

"Having been commissioned, by the representatives of the municipality of Paris, to accompany the Marquis de Lafayette in his mission to his majesty, our report must commence by giving to the commandant-general the greatest praise, not only for his valor, his firmness, his prudence, which are well known, but also for his patriotic devotedness, which has made him confront murmurs and menaces, in restraining an immense crowd of people within the limits of duty, and in directing, with wisdom, an impetuous licentiousness, wishing to break through all opposition. M. de Lafayette, having arrived near Montreuil, caused an oath to be taken by the troops, to respect the residence of his majesty. Having arrived at the first iron rails or entry of the court-guards of the palace, at about half past eleven in the night, the com-

mandant-general summoned the officers of the household of the king to let him enter and speak to the king, with two deputies of the Hotel de Ville; at the first post, the iron rails were shut and locked with strong padlocks and keys; soon after, they were opened, and three of us allowed to enter; the whole body-guard of the king was on foot and under arms; the Swiss guard, gardes-du-corps, the corps of hundred Swiss of the guard; the second iron rails were also opened at our approach, and M. de Lafayette and two of us were introduced into the cabinet of the king, where we found *Monsieur*, brother of the king, the Count d'Estaing, the Marshal Beauvau, M. Necker, the principal officers of the guard, the grand keeper of the seals, and some other lords.

"The Marquis de Lafayette said to the king, that he came before him with two deputies of the common council of Paris, to confirm him in their love for his sacred person, and to assure him they would spill their blood for his safety; that twenty thousand armed men were in the avenues of Versailles; that the will of an immense crowd of people had prevailed (*commandé aux forces*) over the troops, and that there had been no possibility to prevent their putting themselves in march towards Versailles, but that he had caused them to take oath to maintain themselves in the most exact and severe discipline.

"The two deputies of the Hotel de Ville were questioned by the king and *Monsieur*, brother of the king. They asked them what were the wishes of the common council? upon which each of the deputies answered, with the most profound respect to his majesty, that four objects formed the demand of an immense people.

"1st. They entreated earnestly his majesty to confide the guard of his sacred person only to the National Guards of Paris and Versailles, as nobody loved the king so much, and they could not fail, for this reason, better to deserve this honorable preference.

"2d. That the common council of Paris supplicated the king to communicate, through his ministers, the statements and the means of subsistence for Paris.

"3d. That the people demanded loudly a constitution and judges to empty the prisons; and that the king should deign at last to hasten the labors of the representatives of the nation, and to sanction them. And lastly,

"4th. That the king would give a grand proof of his love to the French nation, if he would come to reside in the most beautiful palace in Europe, in the midst of the greatest city of his empire, and amongst the most numerous part of his subjects.

"The king answered, upon the first demand, that Messrs. de Lafayette and d'Estaing could confer together, and that he would consent willingly to it. Upon the second, he said that the minister who was present (Necker) had already received the necessary orders. Upon number three, that he had signed it the same day. And lastly, upon number four, there was no precise answer.

"The questions and the answers now followed each other in a more general manner, between the king, *Monsieur*, the ministers, some lords present, and the two deputies of the common council; after which, Messrs. de la Grey and Le Fevre, who had accompanied the commandant-general in this quality, retired with the most well-founded hope that their mission would have a happy issue, that the calm would be re-established," &c.

The *étiquette* which reigned at court was so strictly observed, that, at the moment when Gen. Lafayette arrived at the palace of Versailles and passed quickly through the apartments, the first chamberlain on duty (*le premier gentilhomme de service*) stopped him in saying: "Sir, the king *grants you the grand entries!*" Lafayette entered, smiling with contempt.

When he advanced into the apartments of the chateau, which were crowded with people, a gloomy silence prevailed, which was broken only by one of the spectators exclaiming: "Behold Cromwell!" "Cromwell," replied Lafayette, "would not have entered this palace alone." The result of the conference between Gen. Lafayette and Count d'Estaing, upon the first demand of the deputies above mentioned, was, that Louis XVI. should consign to Lafayette only the *guard of the posts*, which had belonged to the late French guards. The taking possession of the other guarded points, would have been an act of presumption. The castle, the inner court and the gardens were, therefore, intrusted to the body-guards and the Swiss.

At two o'clock in the morning, after having visited his

posts, Lafayette sent to inform the king that he wished to speak with him again. He was informed that the king was in bed. After five o'clock tranquillity was perfectly restored, and Lafayette, exhausted with fatigue, proceeded to his head-quarters, (which were established too far from the chateau,) to receive the reports, to write to Paris, and to take a little refreshment and rest. He had previously intrusted the command to his chief of the staff, General Gouvion. Lafayette was retarded in his way, in saving ten or twelve guards of the king, whom he snatched, even at the peril of his life, from the already blood-stained hands of a crowd of the rabble, who pursued them with eagerness. They would have been murdered, if Lafayette had not fortunately saved them.

Lafayette had scarcely retired, when suddenly a patrol officer presented himself before him. A party of ruffians, who had found a secret passage unguarded, which was under the immediate care of the body guard, had effected an entrance into the palace, killed two of the body guards, and penetrated to the apartments of the queen, who, thanks to the courageous resistance of two of her guards, had time to effect her escape to the king. The Duke of Orleans, as some writers assert, was seen among the midnight groups and on the road; that agents, bribed by him, had excited, secretly, the mob against the royal family, to commit every kind of excess, &c.; whilst other writers declare the whole existence of the Orleans conspiracy a pure fable. Both parties have gone too far; the truth is, that this ambitious, but cowardly, indolent, and avaricious prince, did appoint various agents to excite the rabble, particularly against the royal family, in order to have the king removed from the throne, and himself declared regent of France, and—a little more. His avarice, in not sufficiently recompensing his agents, his cowardice and indolence, prevented him from acting at the proper moment; and thus, we shall find that Lafayette, well aware of his dark plots, treated him roughly, and caused his exile to England. Lafayette, Latour, Maubourg, and Bureau de Puzy, have furnished me a great many details concerning this conspiracy, of which I give here but a few words.

To order the first post to hasten to the queen's apartments, which were unfortunately barricaded on that

side, (an obstacle which favored the flight of the assailants,) to leap upon the first horse he could find, and, whilst the national grenadiers saved the royal family and the body guards, (of whom, it may be observed, that all the officers, except four, had retired to rest,) to rescue from the mob, which was pouring in on all sides, other body guards, who had been seized in the streets; all this was the work of the National Guard and its chief. Lafayette being left alone amidst an infuriated mob, one of them demanded his head, which he saved only by ordering the arrest of the maniac, by his companions.

On the morning of the 6th, the king having held a council, and announced his determination to proceed to Paris, Lafayette, alarmed at demonstrations which still threatened the queen, ventured to propose that she should appear with him, and with the dauphin on the other side, in the balcony. There, not being able to make himself heard by the multitude, he conceived the idea of kissing the hand of Marie Antoinette, against whom the mob was most enraged, and who was afraid to appear before them. "Vive la Reine! vive Lafayette!" then resounded on all sides. He next led one of the body guards out on the balcony, and embraced him: "Vivent les gardes-du-corps!" exclaimed the multitude. On Lafayette's return to the royal closet, Madame Adelaide, the aunt of Louis XVI., embraced him, and called him the saviour of the king and his family. This title of saviour, was reiterated, for a few days; among the courtiers, the body guards, and individuals of all parties. To the time of their death, the king, queen, and Madame Elizabeth, publicly rendered to Lafayette the justice of acknowledging, that to him they were indebted for their preservation on that memorable occasion.

The court removed to Paris. It is false that the heads of the unfortunate guards were carried before the royal carriage, and it is equally untrue that the Duke of Orleans was seen at the chateau at the time of the tumult. He did not arrive there until it was all ended; but his name had been compromised, and that was sufficient to prompt Lafayette, in a conference, which Mirabeau stiles very imperious on the one part and very resigned on the other, to persuade the prince to quit the kingdom for a time,

As soon as the king was thus conducted from Versailles to Paris, against his free will and wishes, Lafayette, strongly affected, convoked, on the 6th of October, in the evening, the officers of the National Guard, in his hotel, where he spoke as follows: "We are lost, gentlemen, if the service is done so negligently. We are the only soldiers of the revolution; we alone must defend the royal family from every attempt intended against them; we alone have to establish the liberty of the representatives of the nation; we are the only guardians of the public treasury. France and all Europe have their eyes fixed upon the Parisians. One commotion in Paris, one attempt, made by our neglect, against these sacred objects, may bring eternal dishonor upon us, and overwhelm us with the hatred of the provinces, who, in one moment, can turn their arms against us. I demand, consequently, from you, gentlemen, in the name of the country, that your citizen soldiers may unite more closely and strongly to me by an oath, to sacrifice every thing, even their personal interest, to a more exact and persevering discharge of duty, so important in the present circumstances.

"I demand this from you, on my knees; remain four months longer, the period which I have fixed for the solid establishment of the constitution," &c. He ended his speech in these words: "My security hangs by a thread; but I swear to protect the French constitution, at which we work; and I shall attach more importance to my oath than to my life."

His speech had a good effect: the whole battalion of Saint Roch, amongst others, took the solemn oath to submit themselves to the orders of the general, and not to lay down their arms until he should have assured them that the constitution was established.

By a singular coincidence, it was the same sixth of October, 1789, that the first sitting of the famous society, known under the name of *Club of the Jacobins*, was held; which by degrees attracted the popular influence; afterwards, all the political authorities; and, at last, the whole national authority.

It was but seven months afterwards, (May 12, 1790,) that Lafayette and Bailly, alarmed at the astonishing progress of the principles of this club, tending towards

the destruction of all social bonds, attempted to oppose to it a rival society. Under the denomination of *Club of the Feuillans*, this union of men, moderate by character, and friends of a constitution by principle, had for its aim, to take the government, for the present, into its hands; and to assure, by its wise administration, the solidity, the independence, and the stability of the new constitution.

Lafayette, as chief of the National Guard, received, the 6th of October, the king at the Hotel de Ville, and was intrusted to instal the king and royal family in their new residences—Louis XVI. at the Tuilleries, Monsieur at the Luxembourg. The palace of the archbishop was assigned for the sittings of the assembly; the general put them in possession of it.

Lafayette wished that the body guard should share with the National Guard the duty of the palace. The aristocratic spirit of the officers opposed this; and, besides, the court was anxious that the king should appear to be a prisoner. But Lafayette, as the only responsible man, should have insisted on his first resolution, and then he would have been master of both guards, and inspired, by this act of firmness, more confidence in the minds of every friend of order, and respect for his commands.

Some seditious individuals, who had murdered a baker, were tried and hanged; and troops of insurgent soldiers were stripped of their uniforms, and conveyed to the prisons of Saint Denis. Finally, though Lafayette often had popular movements to repress, and still more frequently, to calm by persuasion, yet Paris enjoyed, during two years, astonishing tranquillity, amidst the greatest fermentation.

The public were informed, for the first time, by the memoirs of Bouillé,* that Lafayette refused the marshal's baton, the constable's sword, and even the office of lieutenant-general of the kingdom: offers which were more than once renewed. So, in the popular meeting at the Hotel de Ville, and, particularly, on the occasion of a special motion of the Abbé Fauchet, he rejected a proposition to create him dictator and commander-in-chief of the armed citizens; and recommended, urgently, to name for each province a separate commander, and

* See Memoirs of Bouillé, p. 119.

never to intrust the command of all the National Guards to one person, as being very dangerous to liberty. He repeated this at the moment when fourteen thousand of these National Guards, sent to Paris as deputies from the different provinces, to assist at the federation of the 14th of July, 1790, urged him, pressingly, in the name of six millions of their companions in arms, to accept this command. One day, when on his return from a review, he was conducted back to the assembly, amidst the enthusiastic acclamations of an immense multitude, he seized that opportunity of declaring in the tribune, his formal determination to return to the class of private citizens, as soon as the constitution should be settled.

Lafayette frequently alluded, in the national assembly, to the riots which broke out in the various provinces. He proposed repressive decrees, and compensation to the owners of houses which were burnt in those riots, for which he, in a great measure, blamed the counter-revolutionary spirit. The idea that those anarchical excesses were encouraged by foreign influence, was frequently hinted at by Lafayette; and this was also the opinion of many of the purest friends of liberty and public order. "It is not for the Champ-de-Mars, that you sacrifice me," said Bailly, "it is for the oath of the Tennis-court." We find, from the memoirs of Madame Campans, that this opinion was also shared by the queen. It was while demanding, in the court, the adoption of rigid measures against the rioters, that Lafayette made use of the following words, for which he has been so often and so bitterly reproached: "Under despotism, the most sacred of duties is insurrection; under a free government, obedience to the laws."

Lafayette supported, with all his power, the firm measures adopted against the garrison of Nancy, which had risen in insurrection; and he called for the approbation of the assembly on the conduct observed by M. de Bouillé on that occasion. He proposed the establishment of the English jury, in all its purity; and at the opening of those religious dissensions, out of which party-spirit, on both sides, created a schism, Lafayette, in the assembly, as well as in the exercise of his functions as commandant-general, was the apostle and defender of the liberty and equality of religious worship. He openly

protected that form of worship which was most unpopular, and which was practised in his own family. He, in consequence, received the thanks of the non-juring priests, and of several convents of nuns, where prayers were offered up for Lafayette. He spoke in behalf of the rights of men of color: "The national assembly," said he, "convokes colonists, to deliberate on their interests; is it not evident that free men, who are landed proprietors, cultivators, and tax-payers, in a colony, are colonists? Now, the individuals to whom I refer, are tax-payers, cultivators, landed proprietors, and free men; are they not also men? I think so," &c., &c.

The preparations for the celebration of the 14th July, 1790, were immense; the enthusiasm was general, and spread through all classes; Lafayette was the hero, the idol of the French nation. In the evenings of the 5th, 6th, and 7th of July, the number of persons of both sexes, who worked at the Champ-de-Mars, was more than two hundred and fifty thousand; and there was among this large number of individuals, so different by their education, professions, and habits, reunited in one place, extremely busy and in perpetual motion, not a single dispute or quarrel; and not a single word which could give offence was uttered. On arriving at the Champ-de-Mars, each workman, noble, clergyman, lawyer, merchant, and, finally, each individual, of every class, put his coat on the ground, and upon it his cravat and his watch, and left them under the protection of the good faith of this mixed assembly, and went with perfect security to work. Nothing was missed, nothing was taken. Not the least disorder nor any reprehensive action was committed; and in the whole Champ-de-Mars were seen neither sentinels, nor one single armed man, nor a bayonet. They were not wanted; for all this immense and mixed crowd was commanded, protected, and directed, by their patriotic, ardent, and sacred zeal.

As soon as Lafayette arrived at the Champ-de-Mars, he was received with enthusiasm, surrounded by the crowd of workmen, who testified to him their respect and affection. He answered them by taking a spade, filling a wheel-barrow with earth, and carrying it, under the noisy applause of thousands of spectators.

In one of his visits to the Champ-de-Mars, Lafayette

spoke to the assembled crowd ; and in his animated and sensible speech, he said : "*You cherish liberty—you possess it now : show yourselves capable of preserving it by maintaining order.*" This passage in his speech was taken, and served as one of the many inscriptions which adorned the altar of the country, erected for the ceremony of the 15th of July.

"I met him, (Lafayette,) at the Gros Caillon," said the Count d'Escherny, "at his return from the works at the Champ-de-Mars, escorted by a detachment of his Parisian cavalry, a guard of honor which accompanies him every where. Lafayette, still young, (thirty-four years old,) of courteous manners, of an agreeable physiognomy, and a year since the idol of the people, appears to forget nothing which can cause him to remain in favor, and to preserve his influence ; but the ascendancy which he wishes to acquire, is only that which secures liberty. He mounts always a beautiful white charger, and thus he is seen and recognized at a great distance. He advanced at a slow pace, in the midst of an immense crowd, who made the air resound with clapping of hands, and the cries of *Vive Lafayette ! vive le general !* He rode with his hat in his hand, saluted right and left with an affectionate air, the citizens who surrounded his horse, extending his hand, taking that of those nearest him, pressing them in his hand, stooping even from his high horse, to say a word to one or to embrace another. I thought I saw one of the Graces returning from the forum, and passing through the streets of Rome, in the midst of the acclamations of the people."

The 14th of July, 1790, was, undoubtedly, the most glorious day in Lafayette's long and extraordinary career. We will not detain the reader by describing its imposing solemnities. As major-general of the federation, of which the king was chief, he took, on the altar of the country, the civic oath, in the name of four millions of the National Guards, represented by fourteen thousand deputies ! Lafayette on this day was admired by his foes, beloved and adored by millions : his glory was brilliant and spotless : "his star," as Napoleon used to say, "rose above his own !" From this day it began to wane ; it rose again, and became fixed, during the three days of July, 1830, in spite of Louis Philippe and

his doctrinaires : but, unhappily for the cause of liberty, it vanished again.

The following circumstances, very little known, may prove how the secret enemies of the revolution tried to get rid of the only man who was the zealous and sincere supporter of a constitutional freedom ; and regarded as being the active soul of these extraordinary events.

As at this memorable day, (14th July,) many thousand deputies of the National Guards were sent from every province of France to Paris, to assist at this solemnity, the city of Paris had prepared a splendid banquet in honor of these deputy-citizen-soldiers, called the *Confederates*. It was about five in the afternoon when the ceremony was over. The confederates were conducted by the mayor, the members of the commune, and Gen. Lafayette, to the royal chateau *La Muette*, a quarter of a league from the Champ-de-Mars. There a splendid dinner for twenty-five thousand persons, was served in the large avenues of its beautiful park. When Lafayette alighted from his horse, he was suddenly surrounded and embraced by a crowd of unknown persons, who would have stifled him, if his aids-de-camp had not come promptly to his assistance, and delivered him from these Judases, who soon after disappeared !

The popularity which Lafayette then enjoyed, induced the deputies of the National Guards, (fourteen thousand,) assembled at Paris, to offer him again the command of all the civic guards of France. He refused, peremptorily, this appointment, and made them the following remarks : " Let not ambition take possession of you ; love the friends of the people, but preserve submission to the laws, and enthusiasm for liberty. Pardon this advice, gentlemen : you have given me the glorious right to offer it, when, by loading me with every species of favor which one of your brothers could receive from you, my heart, amidst its delightful emotions, cannot repress a feeling of fear." On taking leave of him, the 17th of July, the deputies spoke as follows : " The deputies of the National Guards of France, retire with the regret of not being able to nominate you our chief. They respect the constitutional law, though it checks, at this moment, the impulse of their hearts. A circumstance which must cover you with immortal glory, is, that you yourself pro-

moted that law—that you yourself prescribed bounds to our gratitude.”

We will close this chapter with a few remarks. The enemies of Lafayette have accused him of weakness; and they are in some degree correct. They accuse him of having retired to rest, on the eventful night of the 5th and 6th of October, 1789, at Versailles. Impartial history must candidly confess, that Lafayette trusted too much to the vigilance and activity of his subalterns. He had ordered his chief of the staff, Gen. Gouvion, to relieve him for half an hour, saying: “I am worn out; I must lie down, if it be but for a few minutes.” This he did; and, unhappily, while he reposed, the chamber of the queen was assaulted, and her life exposed to imminent danger. The primary cause of this accident cannot, however, be attributed to Lafayette; but was occasioned by the negligence of the body guards, who had overlooked a private passage through which the murderers entered. This, and Gouvion’s neglect, can mitigate, but not entirely absolve Lafayette, who was intrusted with the general command, and the safety of the royal family, and should have visited at least every corner of the chateau. Lafayette, moreover, knew perfectly the deadly hatred of the mob against the queen, provoked by her imprudent act of appearing at the repast given to the officers of the newly arrived regiment of Flanders. There, before the apartments of the queen, he should have placed a strong guard of chosen men. Secondly, Lafayette was highly excited by the conduct of the mob, which had forced the king to remove, against his wishes, from Versailles to Paris. This dissatisfaction is expressed in his address to the officers of the civic guard, assembled in the evening of the 6th of October, in his hotel. Lafayette should here, also, have shown more energy; and instead of having complained of the neglect of their duty, should have seen that the laws were enforced against those who *had* committed the neglect. The removal of the king and his family from Versailles to Paris, was against the king’s open, and Lafayette’s secret wishes. This change had the most pernicious influence upon the fate of the king; and was a condescension to the wishes of the rabble, on the part of Lafayette, that encouraged them to further disturbances,

expecting that their wishes would become law. Lafayette was, at that time, powerful, and should have used his power in freeing and snatching the royal family from the hands of the mob. Twenty thousand disciplined, drilled, and well armed men, could easily have maintained their ground against eighty or one hundred thousand clamorous, badly armed, men, women, and children. Lafayette, besides, had cause to apprehend many evil consequences to those whom it was his intention to protect, and should have sent immediately to Paris for a reinforcement of guards. With this imposing force, combined with his powerful moral ascendancy, he should have compelled the mob to disband and return home, and leave to him the entire charge of the safety of the royal family. In case of refusal, or even of resistance, he should have proclaimed martial law, and have acted accordingly. The scene with the queen and the guard-du-corps, upon the balcony, on the morning of the 6th, was an unhappy one; it was a calming, but no healing and radical cure. The hatred was inveterate; the cure should have been in proportion. The mob once dispersed, the king and queen were then in his hands; and thus Lafayette was master to direct their actions, and those of the assembly, who should have remained at Versailles. He could have removed them easily to Compiègne, or to any other place of safety, whilst his condescension to accompany them to Paris, the focus of a volcanic and unruly mob, put them in its power.

But once at Paris, he should have *insisted* upon removing all the ancient royal guards, and surrounding the Tuilleries, the Luxembourg, &c., with his strong and numerous National Guards. It must be recollected, that many writers have erroneously asserted, that the National Guards were, at that time, a mere rabble; when it is well known to those who lived at that day, that a better constituted body of troops has never existed in France. The great body of them were from the classes of merchants and artisans, and were not mercenaries; moreover, this body had an entire confidence in the patriotism and ability of Lafayette. Finally, Lafayette should have never declined the general command of all the National Guards of France. Having upright, well known, and most excellent intentions, he weakened himself for putting

them in execution ; his central power was lost, and with it that energy, quickness, and union, so highly useful and necessary in revolutionary times, from which nothing pernicious is to be apprehended, when the chief is honest and moderate as he was.

If Lafayette had acted thus, what a different turn would have been given to the French revolution, his own fate and that of the world. I must confess, I regret bitterly this unhappy result, as Lafayette has been its first and undeserved victim. Thus we see with grief the little care he took to survey and observe the obscure machinations of the club of Jacobins, of which I shall speak in time.

CHAPTER XVI.

Assembly after the 5th and 6th of October—Lafayette's energy—Club of the Jacobins—Troubles in different places—Day of the Poignards—The King's journey to St. Cloud prevented by the mob, April 18, 1791.

AFTER the 5th and 6th October, 1789, constitutional liberty was gone ; and in consequence of equality, or the reign of the Jacobins, anarchy and bloodshed prevailed. The national assembly, as well as the royal family, had been removed to Paris, by an armed force composed merely of a wretched mob, ready to commit every disorder, and every crime. Lafayette, with all his powerful influence and his fear of bloodshed, was compelled to submit to the absolute will of the people, and to assist in the execution of this command. From that day, the lower orders of society began to assume an ascendancy over that class which, from its knowledge and education, is formed to govern. Mounier and Lally Tolendal abandoned the assembly and France, and thus left the moderate party, of which they had been, with Lafayette, the powerful leaders, without strength. Malouet and Clermont Tonnerre endeavored to support it ; but there were henceforth few debates except between the extremes of opinion.

Lafayette, now aware of the sad consequences of the two days of October, determined to set bounds to the further progress of the rabble, and resolved to restore the

dominion of the law over their will. He proposed to the assembly a decree, empowering the magistracy, in case of any rising, to declare martial law by displaying a red flag; after which signal, those who refused to disperse should be dealt with as open rebels. It passed not without opposition, as it obviously tended to give the bayonets of the National Guards a decided ascendancy over the pikes and clubs of the rabble of the suburbs. The Jacobins, meaning the followers of Marat, Robespierre and Danton, and even the republicans or Brissotines, had hitherto considered these occasional insurrections and murders, like affairs of posts in a campaign, in which they themselves had enjoyed uniformly the advantage; but while Lafayette was followed and obeyed by the National Guard, men of substance and interested in maintaining order, it was clear that he had the power to stop these revolutionary excesses.

A short time after the events of October, a large mob had seized upon and hanged an unhappy baker, who fell under their resentment as a public enemy, because he sold bread dear when he could only purchase grain at an enormous price. They exposed the bloody head, and forced many other bakers to salute it, and pressed its lips to those of the widow, as she lay fainting before them. This done, and in the full confidence of impunity, they approached the hall of the assembly, in order to show them their exploits.

Lafayette, at the head of a detachment of the National Guards, attacked and dispersed the assassins, and the man who carried the head was tried, condemned and hanged. If Lafayette had always shown the same firmness, never would the rabble have dared to commit the excesses which mark this epoch of the French revolution.

At last, Lafayette succeeded in re-establishing order and quietness. He possessed most power out of the assembly; and he exercised it with a firmness, a disinterestedness and courage, that did him immortal honor. His first act was to drive the Duke of Orleans into exile. His absence had the desired effect of allowing agitation to subside.

The assembly pursued its legislative labors, appropriated to the state all ecclesiastical property, created the *assignats*, and divided France into departments, breaking

up the old distinction and frontiers between provinces, abolished parliament, and remodelled the judicature. The liberty of the press, which was especially exercised upon men in power, was extreme in every point of view, particularly upon some members of a new and entirely disregarded faction of which I must now speak.

I have stated that Lafayette and the Mayor of Paris, Bailly, saw, with great anxiety, the rapid progress of a club whose maxims clearly showed principles tending to the overthrow of all social bonds, and formed, in opposition to this club, that of the *Feuillans*. This was done only seven months after the existence of the Jacobin club, which was formed soon after the events of the 5th and 6th of October, 1789, in the sequestered convent of that name in Paris. The most daring among the Jacobins, was the well known Marat, a physician attached to the establishment of the Count d'Artois. This man departed for London, an aristocrat, two months before the 14th of July, and returned a month after, a furious demagogue and the daily assailant of Bailly and Lafayette. When the society of the *Feuillans* was established, their moderation, which, in times of revolution, is true weakness, showed clearly to their antagonists that they had nothing to fear from them; and as they acted with great energy, activity and secrecy, they had soon formed powerful affiliated clubs of Jacobins in the principal provinces of France, which, like that of Paris, flattered the rabble with better times and great plenty, as soon as another order of things should be established in France. Thus was spread throughout the country, a poisonous weed which could have been rooted up and destroyed in time, by the two most powerful men in France, Lafayette and Bailly. They disregarded and despised them in October, 1789; they dreaded them the 12th of May, 1790; and we shall soon see them the unhappy victims of this sanguinary band of anarchists.

Toulongeon, in his History of France during the revolution, says: "that the English influence showed itself in all the commotions which soon broke out in the latter months of the year 1790. These and the first three months of 1791, were filled with scenes of trouble, insurrections and massacres, the sad consequences of the secret intrigues of the Jacobins,"

We see at that time, in every province of France, the excitement of passions by conflicting individual interests; perfidious insinuations against Lafayette and the royal family; secret agents, instigators and disturbers, spread over the whole territory of France; and soon, troubles and bloody scenes breaking out at Avignon and the Constat Venaissin, at Lyons, Uzès, Nîmes, Bordeaux, Perpignan, &c.

Gen. Lafayette's power, limited to the command of the National Guard of Paris, could not reach, at least as quickly as the evil required, the distant provinces. Each of them had its separate commander, among whom were many dissatisfied with the new order of government, or envious of Lafayette, or gained over secretly by venal agents, and who acted in conformity to their secret instructions; and Lafayette could only *represent* by writing what they should do, but never *command* them to act in conformity to the urgency of the moment. Here we see plainly that if Lafayette had accepted the *general* command of the National Guards, he could have, with his well known zeal and activity, easily crushed the Jacobin clubs throughout the kingdom, and prevented the various disturbances and bloody scenes which followed.

A well drilled soldier, and particularly the citizen-soldier of France, chosen at that time from the most industrious, sound and respectable class of society, is naturally ardent in his attachment to his commander, when he perceives activity, skill and bravery joined to humane and severe, but just treatment; and Lafayette undoubtedly united all these qualities. In accepting the general command, he would have formed a link of from five to six millions of armed men, ready to act according to his will, promptly following the least impulse given by him. It was a phalanx, an inseparable chain, which he twice broke, by the impulse of a too generous and too disinterested sentiment. I may be permitted to say, that Lafayette, at that time, as ever, showed more the spirit of an American than of a French commander. This was very unhappy for him and for the cause for which he fought in Europe. I must explain my idea: The American is sedate, persevering, docile; while the Frenchman is lively, quick, unruly and unsteady; the least excitement impels him to extremes and to contradictory ac-

tions; he leaps, if I may be allowed the expression, in one minute, from the most humane to the most cruel and barbarous actions; his moving mind is as a double rocket, and its effect lasts but a moment. If we compare Bonaparte with Lafayette, we must confess that the former, with his handful of men, in proportion to Lafayette's physical and moral forces, has done wonders; while the latter, with great superiority in number, devotedness and confidence, has been, unhappily for the cause of mankind, the victim of a too scrupulous adherence to his American ideas. Lafayette had upright and philanthropic views, in perfect accordance with his generous mind; but not firmness enough to put them vigorously into execution and to adopt the well known motto: *Dans un tems de revolution point de demi-mesures!* while Bonaparte, with his ambition, in the beginning of his greatness, adroitly concealed all selfish views, acted in accordance with this motto, and succeeded!

The 28th of February, 1791, is remarkable in the history of the French revolution, and called the *day of the Poignards*. The plan was a double conspiracy against the life of Lafayette and that of the king.

The National Guard, headed by Lafayette, and aided by the edict respecting martial law, had greatly contributed to the restoration of order in Paris, by checking and dispersing, on various occasions, those disorderly assemblies of rioters, whose violence and cruelty had dishonored the commencement of the revolution. But the spirit which raised these commotions was unabated, and was carefully nourished by the Jacobins, and all their subordinate agents, whose popularity lay among the rabble, as that of the constitutionalists did with the citizens. Among the current falsehoods of the day, arose a report, that the old chateau of Vincennes, situated about three miles from Paris, was to be used as a state-prison, in place of the Bastile. It is true that the government had ordered the dungeons at Vincennes to be repaired, but only as destined to receive a part of the prisoners confined in the prisons at Paris, already too much crowded. In the morning of this day, some popular commotions were observed in various quarters of Paris, and particularly in that of the Hotel de Ville. The notorious Santerre, one of the most exalted Jacobins, and the com-

mander of the National Guard of the suburb of St. Antoine, the residence of a great number of laborers of the lowest order, already distinguished by his zeal for the revolutionary doctrines, put himself at the head of a large mob of about twelve hundred men, and marched towards Vincennes, where they began to demolish a part of the parapet and some dungeons.

As soon as Lafayette heard of it, he assembled a detachment of the National Guard and marched at three o'clock in the afternoon to Vincennes. He demanded and received from the mayor of this place, the order to stop the demolition. He entered into the yards, arrived at the dungeons, and ordered the demolition to be stopped and the men to retire. Some of the rabble resisted; a short struggle ensued, but was soon quelled, and about sixty of them were arrested and carried to Paris by Lafayette.

Some men, who were bribed, were posted in the large avenues of the park of Vincennes, with the secret order to murder Lafayette. Concealed and hidden by dense shrubs, they waited, armed with muskets, for his arrival. One of his aides-de-camp, (Auguste Masson,) whom they took for the general, heard various balls passing near, without wounding him. Arrived at the Barriere du Throne, Lafayette found it shut, and guarded by a multitude of inhabitants of the suburb of St. Antoine. The post was easily forced. The same aid-de-camp, mounted upon a white horse, and at various times taken for the general, was again exposed to be killed. A very suspicious looking fellow followed him for some time, and tried to pass a large stick between the legs of his horse, to cause his fall, and to kill its rider afterwards with greater ease. But a grenadier prevented the attempt, by transfixing the murderer with his bayonet.

While these scenes were transpiring at Vincennes and the suburb of St. Antoine, Paris and the palace of the Tuilleries were the theatre of events, which, although of a different nature, had been combined and prepared by the same conspirators.

In the morning of the same day, a chevalier of St. Louis, M. de Court de Tombelle, had entered the apartments of the Tuilleries, hiding under his coat a short stiletto, fixed with a silk string. He was arrested, and in

searching him, they found pistols in his pocket. When brought before the mayor, M. Bailly, his answers giving no proof of his intentions, he was set at liberty.

Towards nine or ten o'clock in the evening, about four or five hundred individuals, noblemen, or enemies of the revolution, inhabitants of Paris, or coming from the provinces, introduced themselves into the apartments of the Tuilleries, having previously received cards of admission, which the Duke of Villequier, first gentleman of the chamber of the king, had given them. The National Guard of Paris, astonished at seeing them in such a great number assembled in the palace, were much more so, when they heard them saying, "that M. de Lafayette had been killed at Vincennes, or exposed to danger, and that it was necessary to march without delay to his assistance." Soon after, the Major Gen. Gouvion arrived at the Tuilleries and contradicted the rumor; undeceived those who had believed it; and the National Guard, which they had the express intention to remove, remained at their post. The major general entered into the cabinet of the king, and advised his majesty that his person was not safe, and that a troop of armed men, probably without his consent, and even against his wishes, filled the apartments.

These nobles, in order to justify their extraordinary assemblage at the palace, gave out, and said repeatedly, "that Paris being in insurrection, the people murdering each other in the suburb of St. Antoine, it was to be feared the mob might direct its steps towards the Tuilleries; and, as the life of the king was in danger, they had, and ought to have, assembled to defend him." They found means to penetrate into the presence of Louis XVI., and to address him the following words: "Sire, your noblemen have assembled around your sacred person, to defend you." It is said the king answered them thus: "Your zeal is indiscreet; surrender your arms and retire. I am safe in the midst of the National Guard."

Meanwhile, Lafayette arrived at the Tuilleries, with a new reinforcement of the National Guard. Surprized to find there such a numerous assembly, he reproached them, in strong terms, with their guilty enterprise, and requested them to give up their arms to him. The no-

bles resisted; they were not the strongest: the grenadiers of the National Guard had taken possession of all the posts, and filled all the apartments. Lafayette went to the king, spoke to him of the requisition of the National Guard, and represented the consequences of a refusal. The king, alarmed, confirmed the order of the general, and requested the nobles to deposit their arms upon two large tables placed in the antechamber. They obeyed.

These arms consisted of some poniards, of a singular form, of hangers, swords, pistols, &c. Two large vinders were filled, and the National Guards divided among themselves their spoils. This disarming, so humbling in itself, was followed by another act, still more mortifying, viz: their expulsion. From five to six hundred, most of whom were knights, were obliged to pass through a double line of National Guards, and receive from them hisses, and even insults, as being strongly imbittered, and convinced that this double manœuvre of the vanquished, had, for a secret aim, to carry away the king, to put him at the head of a counter-revolution.

The aristocrats, say various historians of the time, knew, the day previous, the attempt planned against Vincennes. They wished to attract Lafayette and the National Guard out of Paris, and profit by their absence to carry away the king, and to conduct him to Metz; but the expedition against Vincennes had been frustrated much sooner than the aristocrats anticipated. The Jacobins, or at least some of them, had bribed these assassins, representing Lafayette as secretly attached to the king more than to the constitution.*

Lafayette caused to be posted up, the next day, a relation of the events of the day before. The Dukes of Duras and Villequier, first gentlemen of the bed-chamber, who had favored the introduction of the conspirators into the Tuilleries, were styled, in this relation, *Chefs de la domesticité*, (*chiefs of the household*.) These courtiers both gave in their resignation, and emigrated.

On the 18th of April, of the same year, another commotion, which had evidently been prepared in secret,

* See *Delaure's Sketches of the Revolution*, *Memoirs of the Marquis de Ferrière*, *Toulaugon's History of France during the Revolution*, *Babst de St. Etienne*, and *Frud'homme*, authors who wrote pro et contra.

impeded the usual journey of the king to St. Cloud. The royal family had not yet entered their different coaches, when the alarm-clock of St. Roch was heard. In less than half an hour, the square called the *Carrousel*, before the Tuilleries, was covered with an immense crowd of people, who, without knowing exactly what was going on, repeated, with great noise : "*The king shall not depart !*" The chiefs of the conspiracy declared, with feigned terror, " that, if the king should depart, he would leave France, and that then civil war was unavoidable !" This feigned fear took effect, and was now believed as truth.

Bailly and Lafayette, after having in vain used every means of persuasion, offered to the king to employ force, in order to favor his departure. But the National Guard, already prejudiced, did not obey, or very slowly executed, the orders of their chiefs. Instead of commanding the reading of the proclamation, establishing martial law, and, in case the mob should not disperse, then to fire upon them, the National Guards were, ridiculously enough, requested to protect the departure of the king, and thus to assure the supremacy and the execution of the law ! More than half of the National Guards refused to obey. The mob, hearing this, were now more encouraged by this humane, but weak reluctance and insubordination : they ridiculed, insulted, and menaced even Lafayette ; and ladies of the court, placed at the windows of the palace, who had seen the embarrassment of the general, laughed at him aloud ! At this moment, Lafayette, highly excited, ceased his exhortations, and spoke in a high and menacing tone to that part of the National Guards which had refused to obey ; went to the king to take his orders, and offered to protect his departure with that part of his forces which remained obedient. But the strings of the harness were cut ; and the king, already seated in his coach, convinced of the uselessness of any further attempt to pursue his course, said he would remain. Lafayette had, nevertheless, spoken with him in a very determined manner ; he said to him : " If the conscience of your majesty is already fixed, I respect the liberty of worship, and we shall perish together to maintain it. Please to tell me, that this act is a religious one for you ; this consideration, alone, must

prevail over every other!" Louis XVI. hesitated, as usual; and from this moment nothing could induce him to risk a great effort against the increasing excitement. The king and his family alighted from their carriages, and returned to their apartments, in spite of the most urgent entreaties of Lafayette that they would remain, and the promise that he would open for them a free passage.

Lafayette was now, for the first and only time, justly dissatisfied with the National Guard. He was also displeased with the civil authorities and the court. The mayor, Bailly, showed great weakness, and was much more to blame than Lafayette, who urged him, in vain, to employ the force of arms, and disperse the mob: Lafayette, therefore, tendered his resignation. The commune, in a body, and all the battalions assembled, waited upon him, and conjured him to resume the command; to which he at last consented. Highly pleased with their sincere repentance, and their reiterated solemn promises to obey him implicitly, he accepted anew his commission; and having become more powerful than ever, he took the firm resolution to make his authority respected by all the then existing factions.

CHAPTER XVII.

Flight of the King—His arrest—Lafayette's great courage—Troubles in the Champ-de-Mars—Energy of Lafayette—His propositions in the Assembly—Its dissolution—Lafayette's remarkable letter to the National Guard on resigning the command, October 8th, 1791.

AFTER the 18th of April, the king saw clearly that he had lost his liberty, and was entirely in the hands of the mob. Various decrees of the assembly, also, hurt his feelings; and thus he determined to seek his safety in flight. He had lost, in the recent death of Mirabeau, a powerful supporter, but he nevertheless did not despair of finding some proper means of escape. The brother of the queen, the Emperor Joseph, had at this time promised to march an army to the relief of his unfortunate brother. The emigrants, on their side, proffered their aid and counsels. But Louis preferred depending upon Bouillé, who, under his direction, formed a camp of some faith-

ful regiments, on the frontier, near Montmedy. The king hoped, by reaching it in safety, to avoid the reproach, at least, of emigration; and, without foreign aid, as he afterwards asserted, to raise up liberty upon a firmer basis. This assertion is, nevertheless, very doubtful, in the mind of any one who knew the king, the queen, the courtiers, and their ridiculous etiquette.

The time of flight was fixed for the night of the 19th of June. The general, Marquis de Bouillé, gave orders, in consequence, for troops and detachments to meet the king at the bridge of Sommeville and at St. Meneshould, to escort and protect his progress, should he reach those towns. *Etiquette* prevented their departure, which was put off to the following night; by which means, although word was sent to Bouillé, the detachments were no longer in waiting when he arrived. A private door in her apartment had been prepared by the queen; issuing by this, in three parties, the royal family gained the courts, and crossed them; the king with his two children reaching the rue de l'Echelle without impediment. Here a *fiacre* awaited them. But the queen had, in the mean time, lost her way, the garde-du-corps who conducted her, being ignorant of Paris. She chanced to meet Lafayette; but passed unrecognized by him, and joined the rest, at length, after much wandering and trouble. The hackney-coach, driven by M. de Fersen, in disguise, then bore them to a distant part of the city. At the gate St. Martin, they quitted it for a berlin, drawn by post-horses, and were soon on the road to Chalons. The king's brother, afterwards Louis XVIII. took, on the same night, the road to Flanders, and succeeded in reaching the frontier.

At St. Meneshould, Louis was recognized by Drouet, son of the post-master; but the carriage was then setting off. Drouet set off, also, by a cross road, and reached Varennes, the next place of halt, and within but two stages from Bouillé's camp, before the fugitives. There were no post-horses in Varennes, but an officer of Bouillé was appointed to have a relay in waiting. There were no symptoms of horses or guards, about the hour of eleven at night, when the royal family entered the town. They were obliged to alight, to question and parley with

the postillions; while Drouot had aroused the municipal officer, and called together the National Guards of the canton. While the carriage was slowly proceeding under an arch that crossed the road, Drouot and three others stopped it, demanding their passports. The garde-du-corps on the box wished to resist. The king forbade them. Here the presence of a man of resolution was wanted. Bouillé had designated the Marquis d'Agoult to accompany the monarch, but his place had been usurped by an obstinate old woman, governess of the dauphin and his sister, insisting on her right, which *etiquette* prescribed! They were now conducted before the procureur of the town; and, the National Guard crowding in, Louis was arrested. The troops of Bouillé arrived also, but refused to rescue him.

The escape of the king was to Lafayette an event very unexpected, as the positive promise and the apparent sincerity of the monarch, had recently warranted him in contradicting the suspicion which had arisen, and publicly staking his life, that the king would not depart.* He remained silent a few minutes, and exclaimed: "It is impossible; I cannot believe it!"

When the truth was known, the fury of the people against him was extreme, and Madame de Lafayette implored him, weeping, to avoid the coming storm. His whole household, and his friends, also, joined the entreaties of his wife. He alone remained calm and without fear. "My conscience is clear; I fear nothing: remain where you are; I shall soon join you," said he to them; and went to the Hotel de Ville. When the assembled crowd beheld the composure with which he advanced, unattended by any escort, amidst the yells of a prodigious mass of people which had assembled before the Hotel de Ville, they were astonished, and respectfully ranged themselves aside to let him pass, exclaiming, "Here comes Lafayette! look, look in his face, that is not the face of a traitor! no, no, it cannot be!" &c. Some lamentations for the recent public calamity, which seemed to challenge Lafayette, furnished him with an opportunity of telling those who complained, that, "if

* Toulangeon's History of France. See the pieces justificatives, which are also corroborated by Lafayette's own assertion to myself.

they called that event a misfortune, he wished to know what name they would give to a counter-revolution, which would deprive them of liberty."

The same eye-witness, (Bureau de Puzy,) adds, that in the multitude, several voices were raised to offer him the vacant throne; a proposition which he rejected with a contemptuous sarcasm. This restored him to all his previous popularity.

On learning the fatal departure of the king, the well-foreseen signal of civil and foreign war, Lafayette, without waiting for the meeting of the assembly, and after having consulted its president and the mayor, took upon himself alone the responsibility of signing and despatching, in every direction, orders for stopping, what was termed the removal of the king. Fortunately for him, considering the atrocious crimes which were afterwards committed, it was not in consequence of his orders, which were necessarily tardy, but the misfortune of being recognized by a post-master, which occasioned the arrest at Varennes. The royal family, on receiving from Lafayette's aid-de-camp, the decree of the assembly, appeared surprised that he was still commanding in Paris; and, indeed, observes Bouillé, in his memoirs, the flight of the king might have caused him to be massacred by the people. It is remarkable, that the notorious Danton, who had previously received one hundred thousand francs from the court, was the only one who, the same evening, at the Jacobin club, demanded the head of Lafayette, though he was well aware that the latter knew his secret.

When the king and his family were brought back to Paris, where hitherto they had not been prisoners, but merely kept under supervision, a decree of the assembly consigned them under the orders of the commandant-general, and under his personal responsibility. Lafayette manifested redoubled zeal to guarantee the safety of the royal family: but sovereign honors were not restored to the monarch until he had again acknowledged and accepted his title of constitutional king. Meanwhile, Bouillé, having, in his letter from Luxembourg, alleged that there existed a party who wished for a republic, and that Lafayette belonged to it, the latter renewed in the assembly his declaration of fidelity to the constitution, as it

was established. While two opposite factions accused Lafayette of having connived at the king's flight, with the view, according to some, of founding the republic, and, according to others, of serving the court, the general himself employed his popularity and his power only to insure the independence of the deliberations, obedience to the decrees of the assembly, and the safety of the royal family.

The national assembly suspended the king from his functions, less as a punishment, than to satisfy the popular outcry. The leaders of the mere rabble, the anarchists, now showed their heads openly, under the guise of republicans. The Jacobins, whom Barnave and the Lameths deserted, started into full activity, under the guidance of the most furious demagogues. In the assembly they argued, that the king's flight was abdication, and that nothing remained but to proclaim the republic. The decree of the 16th of July proved that the majority of the assembly were, however, still attached to their constitution, and pleaded that the monarch was irresponsible. Lafayette, supported by Barnave, Dupont, Lameth, Regnault de St. Jean d'Angely, Chapelier, Thourët, and others, united all their influence to carry this decree, and they succeeded in restoring the king. Enraged at their want of predominance in the assembly, the Jacobins endeavored to agitate the people, and caused a petition to be prepared for dethroning Louis. This was to be laid on the *altar of the country*, in the Champ-de-Mars, for universal signature; an apt organization of sedition. They assembled on Sunday morning, July 17th. Some of the mob found two poor invalids, seated quietly at their breakfast, in the shade under the altar. They were torn in pieces by the infuriated mob, as suspected of being spies!

Immediately Lafayette and Bailly, by the order of the municipality, hurried to the spot, accompanied by three commissaries of the commune, escorted by a large detachment of the National Guard. They were received with a volley of stones: but Lafayette ordered the barriers already raised to be pulled down. A man aimed a musket at him, which fortunately missed fire. This assassin, whom Lafayette afterwards released, made a boast of his crime at the bar of the national convention!

In consequence of a promise having been given that the crowds would disperse, the municipal officers waited till evening; but as the agitation continued to augment, as hostile projects were announced to the assembly, and as that body had directed the municipality to take measures for restoring public safety, the latter unfurled the flag of martial law, and paraded it through the streets, headed by the mayor, and escorted by a detachment under the command of Lafayette. The municipality were assailed with stones, and, in self-defence, found it necessary to fire a few shots. The National Guard also fired, but in the air. This encouraged the boldness of the rioters, and the guard then fired upon them. According to the report of Bailly, about a dozen persons were killed, and as many wounded. There would have been more blood shed but for the courage and presence of mind of Lafayette, who at the moment when the match was about to be applied to a cannon, placed himself before its mouth, and the terrified gunner had barely time to withdraw his arm! Would it not have been better, had he snatched the match away? This would have been more speedily done, and with less danger.

The Champ-de-Mars was empty in an instant, and the constituted authority, for the first time since the revolution, remained master of a contested field. Lafayette ought to have followed up this triumph of the legal force, by giving a triumph to the law itself, in the trial and conviction of some of his prisoners, selecting, particularly, the agitators employed by the club of Jacobins; but he thought he had done enough in frightening these harpies back to their dens. Some of their leaders sought and found refuge among the republicans, which was not, in that hour of danger, very willingly granted. Marat, Robespierre, and many others, who had been, hitherto, the undaunted and unwearied instigators of the rabble, were compelled to skulk in obscurity for some time after this victory of the Champ-de-Mars, which the Jacobins felt severely at the time, and forgot not afterwards to avenge most cruelly.

The assembly now adopted the new constitutional act, which Thouret read in its sitting of the 5th of August, 1791, and which Lafayette proposed to submit to the ac-

ceptance of the king. The first having spoken, Lafayette rose and addressed the assembly as follows :

"It is a long time, gentlemen, since the wishes of the people for this constitutional act, which, formed in accordance with the genius of the times, admits no further delay, and which every circumstance invites us to fix. It is a time when so many united passions are in agitation around us, that it becomes necessary to proclaim those principles of liberty and equality, to the support of which every Frenchman has irrevocably devoted his life and his honor. The assembly thinks also, undoubtedly, that it is time to give all the constitutional authorities action and union; that the nation may have near the foreign governments, a constitutional agent, charged to demand of them many explications due to us; that the sleep of the royal functions may cease, and that mutual confidence may be restored.

"I shall not speak to you of those arduous duties,* which the country had a right to expect from me, because we owe her every kind of devotion; but it may, at least, be permitted to me to calculate its duration.

"I propose, gentlemen, that the committee of the constitution may be charged to prepare a decree, prescribing the form in which it shall be presented to the people, as soon as it has been duly sanctioned by the assembly, so that it may be submitted, in the name of the French nation, to the most independent scrutiny, to the most free acceptance of the king."

The assembly adopted, by acclamation, the propositions of Lafayette. It was he who composed the demand of amnesty, mentioned in the letter of the king, by which the latter accepted the constitution. "Let us consent to forget the past," said the king; "may the accusations and prosecutions, which originated but in the events of the revolution, be extinguished by a general reconciliation." Lafayette added: "I should believe myself doing wrong to the sentiments which unite the assembly to the wishes expressed by the king, if I submitted not to the debates of the assembly the proposition of the following decree: 1st. The liberation of every prisoner, or of

* He alludes to the superintendence over the king and the royal family, after their return from Varennes.

every person accused, concerning the departure of the king. 2d. The abolition of all proceedings respecting the revolution. 3d. The suppression of passports and of all restriction on the liberty of travelling in the interior and out of France." The assembly adopted, by acclamation, these propositions, also.

During the last discussions on the constitutional act, Lafayette opposed the project which prohibited the nation, for thirty years, from the privilege of modifying the constitution. Having fulfilled its task of presenting the constitution to the king, and having received his solemn acceptance of it, the *assembly constituante* declared itself dissolved, on the 30th of September, 1791.

In consequence of the adoption of the constitution, and in conformity to the law which he had proposed himself, Lafayette gave in his resignation, as commander of the National Guard. On the 8th of October, he took leave of them in an affectionate letter, in which he retraced his principles of liberty and public order. The following is a literal copy of this remarkable document :

" GENTLEMEN : At the moment when the national constituent assembly has resigned its powers, when the functions of its members have ceased, I also close the engagements I contracted, when placed by the voice of the people at the head of those citizens who first undertook to achieve and maintain their liberties. I promised the capital, which first gave the happy signal for freedom, to keep unfurled the sacred standard of the revolution, which public confidence consigned to my protection.

" The constitution, gentlemen, is now settled by those who had the right of superintending its arrangement ; and after having been sworn by all the citizens, by all the sections of the kingdom, it has been legally adopted by the people at large, and solemnly recognized by the first legislative assembly of its representatives, as it had previously, with equal reflection and good faith, been acknowledged and adopted by the hereditary representative entrusted with the execution of the laws. The days of the revolution now give place to the period of regular organization, liberty, and prosperity, which that revolution guarantees. Thus, when every thing concurs for the pacification of internal troubles, the threats of the en-

emies of France must, in the face of the public happiness, appear, even to themselves, insensate. For, whatever plots may be formed against the rights of the people, no free mind can harbor the base thought of compromising any of those rights; and liberty and equality, once established in the two hemispheres, will never retrograde.

"To serve you, until this day, gentlemen, was a duty imposed upon me by the sentiments which have animated my whole life; it was but the return of fidelity to which your confidence was entitled. To resign now, without reserve, to my country, all the power and influence she gave me, for the purpose of defending her, during recent convulsions, this is a duty I owe to my well known resolutions, and it amply satisfies the only species of ambition I possess.

"After this explanation of my conduct and motives, I will make, gentlemen, a few reflections on the new situation in which we are placed by the constitutional order about to commence. Liberty arose, surrounded by the ensigns of peace, when her enemies, provoking the defenders of the people, rendered necessary the creation of the National Guards, their spontaneous organization, their universal union, in short, that development of civil power, which restored the use of arms to its real destination, and which verified the remark I feel pleasure in repeating, viz: *That for a nation to be free, it is sufficient that she resolves to be so.* But it is time to give other examples, and those which will be still more imposing; examples having an irresistible force, being exercised for the maintenance of the laws.

"I feel pleasure in calling to mind, gentlemen, how, amidst so many hostile plots, ambitious intrigues, and licentious extravagancies, you faced every adverse circumstance with undaunted firmness; to the fury of parties, you opposed the pure love of your country: in short, amidst the storms of seven-and-twenty revolutionary months, you have calculated dangers only to multiply your vigilance, and measured their importance only inasmuch as they might compromise or serve liberty. Doubtless, we have too many disorders to deplore, and you know the painful impressions they have always produced on me; doubtless, we ourselves have errors to repair; but

when we look back on the great events of the revolution, and observe the unremitting devotedness and boundless sacrifices of a portion of the citizens, to secure the liberty, safety, and peace of all; when we reflect on that provisional state which had just terminated, and in which confidence necessarily supplied the place of law; who is there among those who provoked you, and whom you protected, who can blame the homage now rendered to you by a sincere friend and a grateful general?

"But you must not believe, gentlemen, that every species of despotism is destroyed, and that liberty, because it is constituted and cherished among us, is already perfectly established. This cannot be, while every thing, not prohibited by the law, is not freely permitted; while the movement of persons and the circulation of food and money are impeded by any obstacles; while those who are cited to trial shall be protected against the law; while the people, neglecting their most important duties and their most sacred debt, are neither eager to concur in the elections nor prompt to pay public contributions; while arbitrary opposition, the fruit of disorder or distrust, shall paralyze the action of the lawful authorities; while political opinions or personal sentiments, and, above all, the sacred use of the liberty of the press, shall ever serve as a pretext for violence; while religious intolerance, screening itself under the cloak of pretended patriotism, shall presume to admit the idea of a ruling or a prescribed form of worship; while the abode of every citizen is not to its owner an asylum more inviolable than the most impregnable fortress; while every citizen does not conceive himself bound to defend his civil and political liberties, and to maintain the rigid execution of the law; finally, while there is not, in the voice of the magistrate who speaks in the name of the law, a power for its defence, superior to that of a million of swords.

"May all the blessings of liberty, by consolidating, more and more, the happiness of our country, duly reward the zeal of the National Guards of the kingdom, who were all armed in the same cause, and united by the same sentiments; and may I be allowed here to express to them a gratitude and devotedness as boundless as were the testimonials of confidence and friendship with which they have honored me during this revolution.

"Gentlemen, I now cease to command you; and at the painful moment of our separation, my heart acknowledges, more warmly than ever, the vast obligations by which I am attached to you. Accept the wishes of a devoted friend, for the public prosperity and the private happiness of each of you. May the recollection of him be frequently present in your thoughts, associated with the oath by which we are all bound to *live free or die*.

"LAFAYETTE.

"*Paris, October 8, 1791.*"

The same day he delivered a farewell address to the commune, and quitted the capital, in which he had constantly enjoyed popularity, the more pure and the more remarkable, inasmuch as it had been incessantly employed in repressing factious intrigues, and the excesses of fury and licentiousness, which were afterwards so terribly and fatally manifested.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The different parties in the Legislative Assembly—Declaration of War—Lafayette's nomination as one of the Commanders of the Army—His reception at Paris—His letter of June 16th—His personal appearance before the Assembly—He is denounced, but declared by the Assembly as having given no motive for accusation.

THE legislative assembly, which followed after the *constituante*, met on the 1st of October, 1791. Three parties, perfectly distinct, made themselves conspicuous in this assembly; and, strange as it may appear, Lafayette belonged, strictly speaking, to none of them. He had formed his own system in conformity with the American constitution; two chambers with republican forms, and a king without power, instead of a president as in America.

The three other parties were the constitutionalists, (to whom Lafayette nominally belonged,) the Girondists or republicans, and the Jacobins. There were no priests and but few noblemen among the constitutionalists; the cause of the privileged orders was by this time lost, but

that of the throne was still under dispute ; and the men of property and moderation formed a conservative party in the midst of the popular storm. Ramond, Mathieu, Dumas, Jaucourt, Beugnot and Girardin, were conspicuous among the constitutionalists.

The Girondists or deputies from the Gironde, were composed of about twenty lawyers from Bordeaux and other parts of the south : these men were gifted with talents of the highest order. The constitutionalists and Girondists both represented equally the interests of the middle class, and disputed its opinions ; but the Girondists carried the palm of popularity and also the sceptre of power : they soon ruled the assembly and guided the legislature. Their leaders were Gensonné, Guadet, Vergniaux and Ducos. The Girondists aimed at a republic, and succeeded only in overturning the monarchy ; they perished soon after, when endeavoring to save France and the king. This made M. de Lally Tolendal say, " that their life and their death were equally disastrous to the country."

The third party were the Jacobins, the anarchists ; men without principles or any imaginable form of government : their support was the rabble ; their aim, to sweep away, as obnoxious to their interests, the united aristocracy of birth, wealth, and talents. This Jacobin party, which existed in the constituent assembly, under the name of the mountain, showed itself anew in the legislative assembly. Marat, Robespierre, Merlin de Thionville, Bazire, and Chabot, formerly a capuchin, made themselves conspicuous among the Jacobins ; they were their leaders, merely because, being placed in every respect in the lowest rank, they excited no envy.

Lafayette was, amidst these three contesting parties, isolated, respected, and even feared : although but a private citizen, without office and constitutional power, he still possessed a great ascendancy over the mind of every honest Frenchman. The royalists and the Jacobins hated him, but the constitutionalists adhered to him as their soul ; the Girondists admired and loved in him his republican principles.

Lafayette now retired to his native place, at the chateau of Chavagnac, about one hundred and twenty leagues from Paris, with his beloved wife and three children.

As he proceeded on his journey, he was overwhelmed with honors and marks of affection. The National Guards of Paris presented to him the statue of Washington and a sword forged from the bolts of the Bastile. Several citizens made an attempt to recall Lafayette, by getting him elected mayor instead of Bailly, who, like himself, had resigned. But the court employed its influence in favor of Pethion, who was supported by the Jacobins; and as the friends of the general knew he was not ambitious of the dignity, the favorite candidate of the court and the Jacobins found his success easy.

Two kinds of enemies threatened the present very unsettled state of things; the emigrants collected on the frontier, and the discontented priesthood scattered thro'out the kingdom. The former had the tacit support of all the European courts and almost the avowed alliance of Austria; the latter were in communication with the emigrants, and were stirring and preparing the peasantry universally to revolt. The assembly passed a decree, declaring all emigrants who continued in hostile assembly on the frontier, beyond the month of January, civilly dead, and ordering their property to be seized, without prejudice, however, to their wives, children or creditors. Another ordinance was decreed, of similar rigor, against those priests who refused the oath, and continued to excite agitation. These laws were certainly but a just measure of retaliation. The king made the first use of his veto in suspending them; and then was instantly seen the absurd balance of power provided by the constitution.

The treaties of Padoua and Pilnitz were a convincing proof, to the French people, that the sovereigns, although entire strangers to their country, wished to interfere with their private affairs, and try to force them to submit their necks again to the yoke of arbitrary power.

The extravagant demands of the Austrian court were received by the legislative assembly as an insult to the national dignity; and the king, whatever might be his sentiments as an individual, could not, on this occasion, dispense with the duty his office, as constitutional monarch, imposed on him. He proposed to the assembly a declaration of war against Francis II. Emperor of Austria, which was speedily agreed to, April 20, 1792. Prussia entered into the coalition. It was in the debates excited

by the menaced interference of foreign countries, that Isnard, deputy of Provence, said: "They (the courts of Europe) would bring us back our noblesse! If all the nobles of the earth were to assail us, the French people, with their gold in one hand, their swords in the other, will combat that imperious race, and force it to endure the penalty of equality. Let us elevate ourselves in this conjuncture, to a level with our high mission. Let us speak to ministers, to the king, to Europe, with the dignity that becomes the representatives of France. Let ministers know our dissatisfaction with their conduct, and that by the word *responsibility* we mean death. Tell Europe, that we will respect the constitution of other governments; but that if a league of kings be made against us, we, in turn, will raise a war of people against kings!"

With Europe, certainly, France was not the aggressor. Disunited in councils, the interior swarming with secret enemies, and the army disorganized, they had every reason to avoid a war. The Jacobins, whose chief, Robespierre, had just objected enough to give him the character and credit of a prophet, if any reverses were sustained, resisted the war no longer, but remained armed and watchful, to secure the advantage of events as they might occur. They thought on Cromwell, and trembled to see Lafayette, their enemy, acquire influence similar to his at the head of armies. They did therefore every thing to prevent his successes, as will soon be seen. The constitutionalists saw their best remaining chance for the maintenance of this constitution, their work, was by obtaining victory on the frontier. The Girondists had need of war, as what must necessarily lead the way to an alteration in the constitution, and the laying aside the regal government. They had, besides, a knowledge of the nation's force, and augured triumph where others feared defeat. The Girondists it was, who first conceived that bold project of extended conquest, afterwards realized by Napoleon.

At the news of the approach of a foreign army, the French nation, as if suddenly electrified, flew to arms, and hastened to meet them on the borders of France. All party spirit ceased, all dissensions vanished; and this immense nation formed but one strong chain, whose closely connected links remained firm and unbroken.

resisting and even driving their enemies beyond the former prescribed limits of France.

The vascillating policy, the weakness, the indecision of the king, occasioned the loss of his best friends; confidence in him was gone and emigrations became more numerous. The coalition, supported by English gold, united the emigrants: England paid them; Prussia and Austria joined them to their armies, and foolishly dreamed that they need only march forward in order to take possession of Paris, where they proposed to dictate their sovereign will.*

France now formed but one camp; and its inhabitants, filled with scorn and indignation at the ridiculous boastings of Coblenz, and the menaces of Frederic William and Francis II., flew to arms, anxious to meet the enemy of their beloved country. This armed mass was divided into three great corps, commanded by Luckner, Rochambeau and Lafayette. Marshal Luckner, distinguished by his success in the war of seven years, as a partisan leader; Marshal Rochambeau, well known for his military skill, and having distinguished himself in America, at the conquest of York; Gen. Lafayette, destined, in accordance with his principles, to defend, in both worlds, the cause of liberty and independence.

When he passed through Paris, he presented himself before the assembly; its president, Monsieur de Vau-blanc said to them: "The nation oppose, with confidence, to its enemies, *the constitution and M. de Lafayette.*"

The French national assembly, whose members were secretly excited by the British cabinet, which never sought repose but in the continental troubles, at least under Pitt and Castlereagh, declared war upon the proposition of the king.

The minister Narbonne, who had the confidence of the generals and troops, lost his place; De Lessart, the minister of foreign affairs, having wished to avoid war, became unpopular; a decree of accusation was passed against him, and he was sent to Orleans to be tried before the high-court there. Other royalists of distinction were committed to the same prison, and, in the fatal month

* See the famous manifesto of the Duke of Brunswick.

of September, 1792, were involved in the same dreadful fate. Of six ministers, by whom De Lessart and his comrades had been replaced, Roland, Servan and Claviere, were zealous republicans; Duranton and Lacoste were moderate in their politics, but timorous in character; the sixth, Dumouriez, who held the war department, was the personal rival of Lafayette, both in civil and military matters, and the enemy, therefore, of the constitutional party; a bold adventurer, enterprising, talented, a great intriguer, coquetting with all parties, but too selfish, wayward and passionate, to have fixed principles. He affected to belong to all parties; flattered the king, the Jacobins, and the Girondists. The very day in which Dumouriez accepted the ministry and charmed Louis XVI. by his plausibility and projects, he attended the Jacobins and wore the *bonnet rouge*. The Girondists, at the recommendation of Brissot, adopted him. Madam Roland, the priestess of the party, was the only one who saw through him with a woman's penetration, and described him as "a talented *roue*, a bold cavalier, prepared to mock and trifle with every thing, except his interests and his glory." Such was the man who had the greatest influence upon the fate of Lafayette, as will soon be proved.

M. de Narbonne, when minister of war, had, with the three commanders, Lafayette, Rochambeau, and Luckner, in presence of the king, previously to their departure for the army, formed the plan of invading the Netherlands; Luckner and Rochambeau were to finish the conquest, and Lafayette, with fifty thousand men, received the order to commence the attack. They had flattered themselves with the certainty of an insurrection in Belgium. Rochambeau was to support them with a strong army; another was to march against Mentz, which it was expected would be unable to resist the French impetuosity, seconded by a secret understanding within its walls. But Dumouriez, then minister of war, changed this plan. Biron, who possessed more personal courage and more wit than military talents, obtained the command of a strong detachment taken from the army of Rochambeau. He received orders to attack Mons, while Theobald Dillon should make a diversion towards Tournay. But the result of the attack upon Mons was

a ridiculous panic route, and the loss of a great many military equipages. All the historians of that time attribute this unexpected check to treason.

Immediately after the arrival of Lafayette at the camp, he commenced a reorganization of it, improved the discipline, introduced simplicity in the military administration, formed bodies of light artillery, established military councils and courts-martial for the maintenance of a more severe discipline, for a short time past much relaxed ; appointed an excellent staff of officers ; in a word, he exerted all his powers in disciplining his troops and supplying their necessities.

Lafayette had received orders to march with ten thousand men from Metz to Givet, to attack Namur. Dumouriez, minister of war, entered into a secret intrigue, hatched for the purpose of ruining Lafayette. Being secretly jealous of the command of Lafayette, which he had eagerly sought for himself, he sent him the order to form this body and a train of artillery, on the 24th of March, in the evening, which order he was required to put in execution the 30th of the same month. Ready in twenty-four hours, he made, in five days, by forced marches, a route of fifty-six leagues, in deep mud and continual rains. They had, besides, given him neither tents, nor any means of transport, nor provisions and forage. Moreover, Dumouriez had, by secret agents, divulged the instructions given to Lafayette, before the latter had received them ; and they were publicly discussed in the coffee-houses of Paris, where they were announced beforehand, as given to a man unable to execute them successfully. Lafayette, nevertheless, overcame all these difficulties, and arrived on the day appointed at Givet. Here he found not the least means taken to facilitate his attack ; here also he received the news of the rout of Gen. Dillon's army before Mons, and the order of the minister to give up a plan, of which the principal part had failed !

He directed on the enemy's territory a corps which fought valiantly near Philippeville ; and afterwards, in conformity with a plan which left the offensive to Marshal Luckner, he proceeded to occupy the entrenched camp at Maubeuge, and posted his advanced guard at Glisnelle. He had established pontons over the river,

to fall with his army upon the flank of the enemy, if he should attack his advanced guard. On the 13th of June, this advanced guard, commanded by Gen. Gouvion, was attacked by Gen. Clairfait, who came from Mons for that purpose. A violent thunder storm raged at this moment, and Gouvion, surprized, was compelled to defend himself with disadvantage. Clairfait, profiting by this disorder, forced him to retreat. A cannon-ball killed Gouvion. Lafayette, as soon as he received the news of this check, advanced quickly with his whole army, to support his advanced guard; the combat was renewed; but Clairfait, perceiving the danger of being surrounded by superior forces, hastened to a speedy retreat; and, unable to reach him, Lafayette returned towards his entrenched camp, much regretting the loss of his friend and former chief of the staff of the Parisian National Guard.

It was at this moment that Rochambeau, greatly vexed and tired of all the secret intrigues which persecuted him and his friend Lafayette, gave in his resignation as commander of his army.

Dumouriez, after having caused the removal of three of his colleagues in the ministry, and the reorganization of a new one, composed of men entirely devoted to his interest, was employed as lieutenant-general under the orders of Luckner, who entered the Netherlands.

Luckner, having failed in his offensive operations against the Netherlands, retired to Valenciennes. Lafayette, who had occupied Maubeuge as a means of diversion, despatched Bureau de Puzy to prevail on Luckner to make a combined attack upon the Austrians, nearly at the point where the battle of Jemappes was fought. Lafayette answered for his troops, and entertained no doubt of their success; for he had, from the very outset, publicly predicted the advantage which our new institutions and our spirit of patriotism must possess over old tactics and old armies. Luckner obstinately refused to yield to the recommendations of his colleague. Lafayette, much vexed, posted himself near Bavay, and Luckner entered into Courtray. This circumstance proved not a little mortifying to the enemies of Lafayette; for, by dint of repeating that he had prevented Luckner from attacking, and had proposed that he should march on to Paris, Bureau de Puzy was summoned to the bar, and

they themselves rendered necessary the publication of the correspondence, by which it was clearly proved that Lafayette had acted perfectly correct, to the great confusion of his base calumniators, the Jacobins.

The faction of the Jacobins now began to grow formidable, and to gain a great number of partizans. They began to calumniate Gen. Lafayette, because he was one of the most influential among the friends of a constitutional monarchy. As soon as he was informed of their plots, he denounced them to the legislative assembly, in a letter written from his camp near Bavay, dated June 16, 1792. He had the courage to say: "At the moment, perhaps too long delayed, when I was intending to call your attention to great public interests, and to expose the conduct of a ministry which my correspondence accused a long time ago; I learn that, unnerved by its divisions, it has been crushed by its own intrigues. It was in sacrificing three colleagues, entirely submitted, by their insignificance, to his power, that the less excusable, the most noted among these ministers,* was enabled to establish his ambiguous and scandalous existence in the council of the king.

"Clearly convinced, gentlemen, that a constitution becomes the law of the legislators, who have drawn it as the rights of man, and is the law for every assembly constituante; it is to you that I must denounce the too powerful efforts made to cause you to deviate from this rule, which you have promised to observe.

"Nothing shall hinder me from exerting this right of a free man to fulfil this duty of a citizen; neither the momentary errors of opinion—what are opinions which deviate from just and enlightened principles? nor my respect for the representatives of the people; (I respect still more the people, of which the constitution is the supreme will;) nor the kindness which you have constantly shown me; I will preserve it as I have obtained it, *by an inflexible love for liberty.*

"Your position is difficult: France is menaced from abroad, and agitated in its interior. While foreign courts announce the insufferable project of making an attempt

* Dumouriez, who had caused the removal of Roland, Claviere, and Servan, after a scandalous quarrel upon the secret employ of six millions of francs, had been removed in his turn. He was one of the most ardent Jacobins; and Lafayette, in attacking him, defied this whole powerful faction.

upon our national sovereignty, and declare us to be the enemies of France; internal enemies, intoxicated by fanaticism or pride, nourish a chimerical hope, and tire us, besides, with their insolent malignity.

"You ought to repress them; but you will be able to do it only so far as you may be constitutional and just. You wish for it, undoubtedly; but look around and observe what is going on in your own bosom and around you.

"Can you deny that a faction, and, to speak more plainly, that the *Jacobin faction*, has caused all disorders? This it is which I accuse loudly. Organized as a separate empire in its capital and in its affiliations, madly impelled by some ambitious chieftains, this sect forms a distinct corporation in the midst of the French people, over whom it usurps the power of subduing its representatives and its proxies.

"It is there, in its public sittings, that the love of laws is called aristocratic, and their infraction patriotism; it is there that the murderers of Desilles find triumphs;* the crimes of Jourdan panegyrist;† it is there that the recital of the murder which had stained with blood the city of Metz, has excited infernal acclamations. Do they think to escape from these reproaches, in publishing a manifesto in which these sectarians are named? Are they become sacred, because Leopold has pronounced their name? And are we dispensed from freeing our country from a tyranny at home, because we must combat strangers wishing to meddle in our differences? And what has this duty to do with the projects of strangers and their connivance with counter-revolutionists, and their influence upon the lukewarm friends of liberty? It is *I* who denounce to you this sect; it is *I* who, without speaking of my past life, can answer to those who would pretend to suspect me. Advance in this critical moment, in which the character of every one shall be known, and let us see who of us, more inflexible in his principles, more obdurate in his resistance, shall better brave these

* Forty privates of the Swiss regiment of Chateauvieux, condemned to the gallies for having revolted with arms in their hands, when Desilles fell at the mouth of a cannon which he was endeavoring to prevent being fired, were set at liberty and carried in triumph by the Jacobins.

† Jourdan, chief of the *amaine* in the *Glacieres* of Avignon, and surnamed *Oui-head*, (*Ouïe la tête*.)

obstacles and these dangers, which traitors to their country disguise, and which true citizens know how to appreciate and to face for her.

"In regard to myself, who espoused the cause of America just at the time when her ambassadors declared to me it was lost; who, from that time, devoted myself to a persevering defence of the cause of liberty, and the sovereignty of the nations; who, since the 11th of July, 1789, in presenting to my country a declaration of the rights of man, dared say to her: "It is sufficient that a nation should be free, when it wishes to be so;" I come to-day, full of confidence in the justice of our cause; despising the cowards who deserted her, and abhorring the traitors who wished to stain her; I come to declare that the French nation, if she is not the vilest nation in the universe, can and must resist the coalition of kings who have been armed against her. * * * * Let the system of clubs, crushed by you, give room to the reign of the law; their usurpations, to the firm and independent exercise of the constitutional authorities; their disorganizing maxims, to the true principles of liberty; their delirious fury to the calm and constant courage of a nation that knows and defends its rights; finally, their sectarian combinations, against the true interests of the country, which, in this moment of danger, must assemble all those for whom its abasement and its ruin are not the objects of an atrocious enjoyment and an infamous speculation.

"These are, sir, the representations and the petitions which a citizen submits to the assembly, as he has submitted them to the king; a citizen to whom nobody of good faith can dispute the love of country; whom the various factions would hate less, if he had not elevated himself above them by his disinterestedness. * * * * Sir, I have obeyed my conscience and my oath; it is due to my country, to the king, and particularly to myself, to whom the chances of war do not permit to delay the observation which I think to be useful, and who loves to think that the national assembly may find in them a new homage of my devotedness to her constitutional authorities, of my personal gratitude, and of my respect for her.

(Signed)

"LAFAYETTE."

The sending of this letter at such a critical moment, refutes, I think, in a very convincing manner, the often repeated accusation, that Lafayette was weak and wanted energy. It is, perhaps, the most striking act in the political life of Lafayette. After its publication, the party of the emigrants said: "He despises us; the king is then for him; the constitutionalists will be triumphant." The Jacobins said: "He menaces us; he is with the king; the moderate party will triumph." The constitutionalists said: "He supports us; then the king and he understand each other, and the constitution will triumph."

This is the key which reveals the source of the persecutions which Lafayette suffered from the Jacobins, the emigrants, the royalists; Lafayette dared to attack the factions; he who was of none; he who was pure, firm, and patriotic.

When the news of the insurrection of the 20th of June reached Lafayette, his army was encamped near Bavay, occupying a post holding in check a part of the enemy's army, to prevent, by this diversion, their hindering the offensive movements of the army of Marshal Luckner. These revolutionary movements of the Jacobin party, provoked Lafayette to adopt a strong resolution. The general employed two days in strengthening the position of his army during his absence, and then departed for Paris. In passing through Soissons, he visited the constitutional authorities, who approved of his zeal, but predicted its inutility and warned him of his dangers. He arrived, with a part of his staff, at Paris, alighted at the hotel of La Rochefoucault, president of the department, afterwards assassinated at Gisors, at the massacres of September, by some emissaries of the common council of Paris; concerted with him to take some steps, and went to present himself before the assembly. He began by assuring the assembly in regard to the situation of the army, confirmed the authenticity of his letter of the 16th, which some feigned to suspect; and in speaking of the events of the 20th, urgently requested the assembly to order a legal investigation into the crimes committed on this day, of which he accused the Jacobins as the instigators. His address was applauded, but produced not the desired effect.

Lafayette having returned to his own hotel, received the call of his numerous friends, with whom he examined the number of forces upon which he could rely. A review of the first division of the National Guard, commanded by Acloque, was ordered for the next morning at day-break. The king was to pass this review, and afterwards Lafayette proposed to address the citizen-soldiers. The queen, when informed by the king that Lafayette would be present at the review, persuaded the king to postpone it, and sent immediately to the Mayor Pethion, to countermand it. This princess feared much more the success of Lafayette than that of the Jacobins; and by this sad mistrust, prepared for herself, her family, and the whole constitutional party, all the evils which followed in rapid succession.

Lafayette, hearing of this counter order, assembled in his house as many citizens of the National Guard as he and his friends could find. The assembly was numerously attended, and it was agreed to meet in the evening at the Champs Elysées: scarcely one hundred men appeared there. They adjourned to meet at the same place the next day; and it was resolved to march, well armed, against the club of the Jacobins, in case they were three hundred in number: not *thirteen* came! The popularity which Lafayette had preserved, served only at that time to paralyze the fury of the Jacobins, who wished to proscribe him.

Lafayette returned now to the army; but before he went, he called to see the king, and proposed to carry him to Compiegne, to advise the assembly of this step, and offered to protect his person and the constitution by faithful and chosen troops. The king refused the offer; some say because he mistrusted Lafayette; others, because his weak and vacillating character forced him to conclude, that to remain inactive would be the less dangerous part which he could take.

The queen was, at that time, so convinced that the least step of the court would appear suspicious to the Jacobin faction, that she answered to the aid-de-camp (Louis Romoeuff) whom Lafayette had sent to her, while he went to the king, that it would be perhaps better for her and her family to be sent and locked up in some strong castle, until these dangerous times of popular fer-

mentation were over." Besides, Hust, the first groom of the king Louis XVIII., assures us in his memoirs, published at Paris in 1814, "that this refusal of the king, attributed to his mistrust or to the advice of those who surrounded him, was, in fact, *but the result of a letter which the Duke of Brunswick wrote to him from his head-quarters at Coblenz, in which he urgently requested him not to move from Paris, until the allied troops could be able to come and join him.*"

His arrival with a part of his army, would have given to his eloquent and manly address a definitive and happier turn, as Lafayette had still a powerful and large party of friends at Paris. But they were of a too weak and timid character, fearing to act, unsupported by a body of troops able to protect them; and thus Lafayette could not succeed. Bureau de Puzy, his friend and the commander of the engineers, to whom he confided his intention to go to Paris, gave him the advice to march at the head of three thousand chosen men, encamp them before the capital, and present himself alone at the bar of the assembly, while his corps should hold themselves ready to act at the first stroke of the drum. But Lafayette declined diminishing his already weakened army, then in front of the enemy, and by doing so to take upon himself the responsibility of what might happen in his absence; or, as it appeared from subsequent events, he may not have dared to repose the necessary confidence in any corps of his army, already much imbued with the revolutionary spirit.

Lafayette, seeing he could do no more, returned, dissatisfied and overwhelmed with sorrow, to his camp. There he continued to keep the enemy in check, without being able to do much more; being too weak to strike a decisive blow.

The command of the frontier was, after the resignation of Rochambeau, divided between Luckner and Lafayette. The marshal's portion extended from the Rhine to Longwy; and Lafayette's from Dunkirk to Montmedy. The two generals foresaw that the principal attack would be made near the junction point of their respective commands. They had a host of adverse circumstances to contend with, viz: the disguised movements of the Austrian forces; the outcries of the Jacobins; the de-

nunciations of the journals; the representations of the ministers, who were ruled by the clubs; and the disobedience of Dumouriez, who first quarrelled with his old colleagues, and then, after the most serious charges on both sides, was reconciled to them. However, in spite of all these obstacles, Luckner and Lafayette directed towards the threatened points, the two corps, ready to support each other, and to oppose the Duke of Brunswick. But while their military plans, that among others which they formed in Flanders, were thwarted by orders from Paris, internal intrigues retarded the supplies of troops, which had been ordered conformably with the law.

Lafayette, now hated and even persecuted by the two factions, the Jacobins and the Girondists, and abandoned by those who had solemnly promised to support and defend him against them both, remained isolated in his camp, near Sedan, surrounded by his faithful staff. He was there obliged to await the report of the assembly, to which his letter and his personal appearance before it at the bar, had given rise. Among the deputies of the committee named to examine the letter, were enemies, or at least declared opponents of Lafayette. Guadet and Brissot were among the most influential. The committee made its report. Lasource pronounced a vehement speech, in which he did not spare Lafayette, accusing him of being a conspirator, and of advancing boldly to be the chief of a faction and a traitor. Nevertheless, the majority of the assembly appeared disposed to acquit him, when Guadet laid upon the desk before the president, a formal denunciation, which declared, that the Marshal Luckner said, "Lafayette had sent Bureau de Puzy to him, (Luckner,) with proposals to unite their armies and to march against Paris;" and that he (Luckner) answered: "If Lafayette marches against Paris, I shall march against Lafayette!" Now it was necessary to make a second report, after having examined anew this latter denunciation.

The report was made by Jean de Bricé, on the 8th of August. It was a recapitulation of the facts denounced in the act of accusation; the letters of Luckner and his verbal answers were compared. Finally, solving the question in its political and constitutional views, it con-

cluded by pronouncing a formal decree of accusation against Lafayette. The most noisy applauses from the galleries were heard at the conclusion of the report. Vaublanc rose in opposition to it, and defended the accused with great eloquence, and by calm and convincing reasons: he said, "that Lafayette had not come to dictate laws, but to ask for them; that Lafayette had used the right, or rather the custom, of leaving his army, to confer with the minister, in common with other commanders, and was, besides, fully justified by the critical circumstances." The speaker refuted the reproach thrown out against Lafayette, of having, in his marches, embarrassed the army of his colleague, Luckner; and holding a map in his hands, he demonstrated clearly, that the two armies, marched by their right flank, in a parallel line, in order to occupy their new positions. Finally, calling upon Condorcet, present at this session, he cited from him these words: "If they have told you that I regard Lafayette as the most sure support of the liberty of the French, they have spoken the truth; as I was, a long time before the revolution, the confidant of all his projects for the establishment of liberty." Here the murmurs of the galleries interrupted Vaublanc, who ended by demanding the previous question on the act of accusation.

The galleries, bribed by the ministers and the Jacobins, uttered loud cries; but the numerous and almost unanimous applauses of the assembly, imposed silence on these hired clamorers. Brissot rejected the medium course of disapproving the conduct of the general, and concluded in moving for the decree of accusation. The votes were taken in the usual form, and the majority was declared by the president to be *against the act of accusation*. Scarcely had the president pronounced these words, when loud cries of disapprobation were heard from the galleries, which resounded through the whole hall.

Merlin, having some papers in his hands, tore them in pieces and threw them in the midst of the assembly, exclaiming, "Let the people resume their power; we are not fit to save it!" The nominal appeal was now called for, and readily granted. It gave four hundred and seven voices against, and two hundred and twenty-four in favor.

of the act of accusation; and in spite of the low murmurs of the galleries and the secret disappointment of the opponents, the president pronounced a second time that there was no motive of accusation.

Thus passed the 8th of August. The 9th the Jacobins triumphed; for, in consequence of the ill-treatment which some of the members received from them, the assembly declared its sessions *no longer free!*

CHAPTER XIX.

Events of the 10th of August—Situation of the army—Lafayette's resolution—Declared an out-law—His leaving the army.

THE Girondists and Jacobins, and the numerous enemies of Lafayette, or rather of a monarchical constitution founded upon laws and order, were enraged against the great majority in the assembly who had absolved, on the 8th of August, Gen. Lafayette from all accusation. This defeat, far from discouraging them from new attempts against the court, seemed to prompt them to greater excesses than ever. Several members who had opposed his being accused, were grossly insulted as they went, the same evening, from the assembly; and some of them, particularly M. Vaublanc, narrowly escaped assassination.

The cry through Paris, where the rabble now reigned, became general for the dethronement of the king. As the vote of "the country in danger," provoked by the Duke of Brunswick's famous manifesto, became known, which roused exasperation had pronounced, the great municipal council of the Hotel de Ville sat permanently; and subordinate councils were formed in each of the districts or sections. Paris was divided into forty-eight sections, all of which used to send deputies to the bar of the assembly, to denounce the slightest actions as crimes. Forty-four thousand municipalities contained each a club of Jacobins, in correspondence with that of Paris, and that again was subservient to the orders of the suburbs. Never was a city of seven hundred thou-

sand souls so completely transformed. The forty-eight sections, in the moment of effervescence, came to be composed of the clubbists of the quarter. They were no sooner assembled, than they proceeded, after the fashion of the day, to legislate. Most of them voted addresses to the assembly, praying for the dethronement. One declared, of its own authority, this revolution effected. As the crisis of insurrection approached, these sections sent commissaries to the chief municipal assembly at the Hotel de Ville, which, composed of citizens of some substance; and more Girondists than Jacobins, was little zealous in the cause of anarchy. The commissaries, accordingly, took upon them to expel the old municipality, and to establish themselves in its place. Such was the formation of the *commune*, that seconded the insurrection, and, afterwards, resisting the assembly itself, gave the Jacobins the victory over all antagonists. The municipal council of Paris was, in fact, the helm of revolution; whatever party succeeded in grasping it, guided the vessel of state.

The assembly was warned, on the 9th of August, of the insurrection that approached. But they were powerless. The same day, a motion for the declaration of the king's forfeiture was made, under the thundering applause of the galleries. They had scarcely separated in the evening, when the tocsin began to sound. It continued all night to toll the self-called patriots to arms, at the different rallying points. On the morning of the 10th, the several columns were complete and ready for the attack. Santerre led the inhabitants of the faubourg St. Antoine. That of St. Marceau sent a body of equal force. The head-quarters of insurrection were at the club of Cordeliers, where Danton possessed the ruling voice. As for Marat and Robespierre, these wretches remained hidden in the hour of danger.

The results of this bloody day are known. A deputation from the new chosen municipality or community of Paris, appeared at the bar of the assembly: this election had been made the preceding night; and the new elected council had usurped the council-chamber, and driven out the old, excepting Pethion, the mayor of Paris, Manuel, the procureur, and Danton, minister of justice.

They were preceded by three banners, on which were inscribed, "Liberté! Patrie! Egalité!"

The assembly decreed: That the French nation be invited to form a conventional assembly, of which the mode and time will be particularized hereafter: that Louis XVI. is suspended from his authority, till such time as the conventional assembly shall decide on proper measures for securing the blessing of freedom to the people: a new ministry shall be formed: the payment of the civil list is likewise suspended: the king and royal family are to remain under the immediate safeguard of the assembly, and within the walls where it meets, till such time as tranquillity is established in Paris; and then they are to be conducted to the palace of the Luxembourg, and there put under the protection of the citizens and the laws: all the public officers, whether military or civil, who shall leave their posts in the present moment of danger and alarm, are declared infamous, and traitors to their country.*

These and other decrees were sent to the eighty-three departments of France, by couriers.

Thus the throne was overturned; the king was a prisoner, shut up in the narrow cage or box of the assembly with his family; suspended in the exercise of his constitutional powers; the royalty was from that day abolished: and the new common council of Paris, springing, stained with blood, from the den of the Jacobins, took possession of France, as the natural prey of its victory. From this day, the bloody reign of terror began, which lasted two long years, and terminated only with the destruction of Robespierre and his accomplices.

The events of the 10th of August, soon reached the army, and produced divisions and trouble. Dumouriez had obstinately refused to obey Luckner and Lafayette. These latter had observed the movements of the enemy, and easily foresaw that the Prussians would penetrate into France through Longwy. They had therefore resolved to unite all their forces on the frontiers of Champagne and du pays de Messin. After the retreat of Rochambeau, the general command had been divided

* This last article was particularly aimed at Lafayette, whom they dreaded.

between Luckner and Lafayette; the former was to cover the frontiers from Montmedy to the Rhine; the latter from Dunkirk to Montmedy.

We must remark here that a great many recruits had been made for the regiments of the line and the volunteer battalions; but the ministry, entirely influenced by Dumouriez and those who had secretly resolved upon the destruction of Lafayette, had given him, in distributing these recruits, but the third part of their number, although he had one half of the line of defence under his command. Luckner was particularly charged to ward off the attacks of the Prussians in front, while Lafayette was to attack them on their flanks.

The Duke of Saxe Teschen had advanced into Flanders, towards Bavay, at the head of a strong corps of Austrian troops, for the purpose of dividing the French forces; but Luckner and Lafayette were not deceived by this false manœuvre, and had ordered Dumouriez to break up his camp before Maulde, where he retained a great number of troops without any utility, and to join them without delay. But Dumouriez, always opposed to both, and secretly a mortal foe of Lafayette, disregarded their orders; and exaggerating the danger of the movements made by the Duke of Saxe Teschen, remained quiet in his camp. He sent a secret letter to the Jacobins, who not only approved of his conduct, but exclaimed loudly against Lafayette, declaring him to be a traitor. The latter ordered Gen. Dillon to arrest Dumouriez; but Dillon, too much afraid of the consequences, or too weak in forces to penetrate into the midst of Dumouriez' numerous and strong camp, dared not execute this order. Lafayette sounded Luckner to unite his forces with those of Dillon and his own; but Luckner, an old, weak and timorous man, without any energy, feared the consequences of the only practicable step to crush this growing faction, and refused his assistance; and thus the armies of Luckner and Lafayette, deprived of the means upon which they had relied, found themselves too weak to attack an army of seventy thousand men, who advanced under the orders of the king of Prussia.

By this disobedience of Dumouriez, the progress of the enemy was rendered easy and rapid; the two other French armies were prevented from acting offensively, or rather

from doing any thing successfully: the clamors against Lafayette increased and gained ground, while the author of all these disasters remained quiet in his entrenched camp, occupied with vile intrigues.* When Dumouriez' ambition and his hatred against Lafayette were satisfied, and after the departure of the latter, he being named as his successor in the command of the army, Dumouriez not only broke up the camp of Maulde as of no use, but finding himself too weak to resist, with his and Luckner's army, the superior forces of the enemy, ordered Gen. Kellerman with his army, to evacuate Alsace, and to join him.

Meanwhile, the legislative corps, convinced of the high importance of bringing the troops to favor the new revolution of the 10th of August, had sent commissaries to all the French armies, to employ every means to inspire hatred against the royal family, and to render all those suspicious, who had pronounced themselves in favor of the king and the constitution. These commissaries made the soldiers seducing promises of promotion, false reports and statements, and absurd denunciations. These assertions were powerfully supported by the approach of the enemy; by the suspicions which the arming of the emigrants excited against those faithful nobles who still remained in the French armies; by the indignation which the manifesto of Austria and Prussia had raised; by the general dissatisfaction which the small success of the first operations of the campaign had produced; and finally, by a general impulse to slander, to suspect, and even to hate the throne, the nobility, the clergy, the parliaments, the rich proprietors, the men of transcendant merit; in one word, against all that was superior.

The commissaries had brought to the army the new oath of *equality* and *liberty*. Dumouriez took the oath without any hesitation; Dumouriez, who by the new revolution had escaped the decree of arrest pronounced against him for having disobeyed the orders of Lafayette. The latter hesitated not a moment to arrest the commig-

* Bureau de Puzy, when we were at Hamburg, showed me a valuable manuscript which he had not then finished. It was a triumphant refutation of Dumouriez' *Memoirs*, which he had published a little before our arrival from Olmutz. It gave the most convincing proofs of Dumouriez' horrid conduct, and vindicated entirely Lafayette's operations. I regret to state that M. de Puzy could not finish it, as a few weeks after, he sailed for America, and said he would finish his manuscript there. It has unhappily never appeared.

saries sent to his army, and thus to raise the standard of insurrection. As this event forms an epoch in the history of Lafayette, we may be permitted to enter into some details very little known.

The army of Lafayette, about twenty-eight thousand strong, occupied at this time, a position in three separate bodies or corps, between Sedan and Morizon. His headquarters were near Sedan. Here he received intelligence of the events of the 10th of August, and soon after was informed of the arrival of three commissaries of the legislative corps, sent to his army. They were Kersaint, Antonelle and Peraldy. Lafayette entertained a well-founded hope of rallying the neighboring departments. Seventy-five of the eighty-three then existing departments in France had adhered to his letter of June 16th, 1792. His army was faithful to him; the constitutional authorities of the Ardennes saw, like him, in the events of the 10th of August, not the commencement of a new order of things, but the overthrow of the form of government established by a solemn oath; his previous steps, too open and decided to be retraced with honor, all imposed upon him a public and personal duty to attempt to resist oppression. There were many circumstances which inspired hopes of success. Luckner and Dillon had shown great weakness. The former had sworn, with tears in his eyes, the oath which he had rejected the day before,* when he uttered these words: "*A little accident* has happened in Paris; (thus he named the 10th of August;) my friend Lafayette has ordered the arrest of the commissaries, and he has done well." The latter (Dillon) had first exacted from his troops, as did Lafayette, the renewal of the constitutional oath, which he altered in that exacted by the commissaries at their arrival. In regard to Dumouriez, he had acted with great policy and cunning, and as circumstances required! But Lafayette could not retract and would not change his straight forward course; he applied to the common council of Sedan, and the three commissaries above named were arrested.

* Marshal Baron Luckner, whom I often visited in Paris, was by birth a German, (from Bohemia,) of middling talents and weak character. He was, nevertheless, an honest, upright, jovial, good hearted man, who, when he came to claim his just due, received for payment, a prison and the guillotine. His descendants, the counts Luckner, reside at present in Holstein.

The mayor, Desrousseaux, examined them, and said : " I ask you, gentlemen, if, when the assembly passed the decree of which you are the bearers, it was perfectly free? Kersaint agreed that the assembly had voted during a revolutionary movement and surrounded by armed men. The mayor then said to them, " you are not the representatives of the legislative body ; you are the deputies of a faction which hold our representatives in captivity, and who forced the assembly to vote the destruction of those laws which we in common have sworn to obey. Your arrival, your presence even, in this city, puts the people in agitation, it renders them uneasy, it may effect a revolution. We must therefore consider you as hostages for the safety of our deputies." M. Desrousseaux then took the votes of the common council and of the council general. It was unanimously resolved that the commissaries should be conducted into the castle of Sedan, and that the general (Lafayette) should be requested to give them a guard. It was with great difficulty they could be defended against the fury of the people. The next day they could see, from the tower in which they were locked up, the civil authorities, the troops and citizens, renewing the oath to adhere to the constitution. This was the first open act of resistance which the assembly experienced, and Lafayette was the first mover.

They now tried to gain him over ; not by useless offers and promises—how was it possible to bribe a man who had spent his large fortune in supporting the revolution of America and that of France ; who had refused immense property offered him by the United States, and the sword of grand constable of France ? But they tried to persuade him that probably almost the whole of the kingdom would consent to this new order of things, or they thought to frighten him by the probability of a civil war. The commissaries requested a friendly conference with him, which he refused. The directory of the department of the Ardennes approved the proceedings of the common council of Sedan : it made known to them their adhesion by a formal decree, which conducted its courageous signers, together with the members of the common council who had set them this glorious and perilous example, to the scaffold.

Luckner, old and weak, changed every day his plan

of operations, and had no other advice than that of his surrounding friends. Lafayette was the only one who pursued a straight line of conduct in a step of such high importance, viz : to rally around him the greatest number possible of departments, and to form with its most distinguished members in office, a kind of congress, to which he hoped would soon be joined the dissenting members of the legislative corps. Assisted by this civil authority, from which he might have asked and received orders; supported by the armies of the Moselle and the Rhine; he hoped to maintain an opposition around which public opinion might have rallied, and re-established the constitution. But all the circumstances which were naturally calculated to ensure him success, had a directly contrary tendency. The approaching enemy attracted general attention, and absorbed every other interest. The vacillating conduct of the king, that of the court much more suspicious, banished all confidence and ruined every measure. The soldiers knew no other power than the decrees; they were obliged to obey those which violence had snatched from fear, and whose origin they could not and had not the right to examine. All thus concurred to render abortive a plan which the rapid succession of events had not permitted to develop and far less to mature.

Nothing now remained to Lafayette but to leave France, governed by a faction which was striving to destroy its most pure and respectable inhabitants; he clearly foresaw that in remaining even in his camp, he would sooner or later become the victim of this faction, his deadly foes.

He invited, therefore, his three friends, Generals Cesar Fay Latour Maubourg, Alexander Lameth, and the commandant of engineers, Bureau de Puzy,* all three ex-members of the assembly constituante, to meet at midnight on the 19th of August, in his quarters, in order to confer upon important affairs. They there deliberated on the steps which it was necessary to take. To march upon Paris and there attempt to crush the growing faction, was to expose themselves and troops to a certain destruction; to remain at the head of the army,

* See their biographies in the *Gleaner Français*, by H. L. V. Dacoudray Holstein. Geneva, E. Robbins; N. York, Charles De Belis, 1833.

was to ensure the death of the brave men under their command, exposed as they were between two fires ; (the enemy on the one side and the Jacobins on the other ;) to treat with the enemy was rejected as unworthy and impracticable. It was then unanimously agreed upon, to leave an ungrateful country, governed by a faction which sought the destruction of the most upright and respectable of its inhabitants ; that they would cross Brabant and reach Holland, from whence they might embark for the United States of America, and remain there until a new order of things took place.

Early the next day, the 20th of August, 1792, the commander-in-chief, accompanied by his two friends, (Alexander de Lameth remained behind and joined them the same day in the evening,) who alone were entrusted with the secret, together with the aids-de-camp and a part of his staff, mounted on horseback, as if for the purpose of reconnoitering, took the road to Rocheford until they reached an inn near Bouillon, about two leagues and a half from the camp ; here he dismounted and ascended into a room on the second floor, followed by twenty-one officers, who had accompanied him. At the same time, he ordered the commander of his escort to establish sentinels, in order to prevent a surprise from the enemy's patrols. But what was the astonishment of these officers, when the general announced to them, in a concise and energetic discourse, the state of France, the feelings of the army, and that the Duke of Orleans, the society of Jacobins, and the municipality of Paris had proscribed him ; that the corporation of the same city had caused the dies of the medal struck in his honor to be broken by the hands of the common executioner ; that he was declared the enemy of his country, and a price set upon his head ! He concluded by informing them of his determination to quit the country for a time ; but that he should consider as his enemy, any man who should march against her ; that he had rather perish a thousand times, than cause the blood of a single one of his fellow-citizens to be shed on his account.

Notwithstanding this injunction, these young soldiers unanimously declared, that there was but one way left to save their country and their general, which was to march directly upon Paris, and to disperse the Jacobin faction.

at once. Among the most strenuous on this subject were the aids-de-camp and staff officers, Victor Latour Maubourg, Rene Pillet, Cadignan, &c. The general and his two friends told them that this had been found impossible, and entreated them to return to the camp, that their absence might not be injurious to them. In vain he represented to them all the dangers to which they exposed themselves and families by emigrating; no arguments overcame the resolution of these young officers; they declared their determination to accompany their general.

Previously to leaving the inn, he wrote several orders for the different posts occupied by his army, to provide for their safety. He sent orders to the civil authorities to provide the necessary provisions, &c., for the troops, and ante-dated them, to protect them against all reproaches, all censure, all judicial accusations, assuming himself the sole responsibility.

It was indeed high time for him to depart. The decree of accusation against him had been rejected the 8th of August; on the 11th it had been brought up again in the Assembly by members devoted to the Jacobins; had been pronounced and passed the 19th, the day previous to his departure. Toulangeon, in his history of France, observed on this occasion: "Those who had acquitted Lafayette some days previous, were still the same: but judges on the eve of danger, they were *men* the next day."

CHAPTER XX.

Lafayette's departure from the inn at Bouillon—He falls into the hands of the Austrians—Prisoner at Rochefort—Namur—Nivelle—Luxembourg—Wesel—Mâgdeburg—His removal to Neiss—Alexander Lameth set at liberty.

I ENTER now, although very reluctantly, upon the detail of a series of cruel and barbarous actions committed by two crowned heads and their ministers, against men a thousand times their superior in talents, character and philanthropy. This holy idea, *philanthropy*, how could

it enter into the empty brains of a Francis II., who understands better how to make a fine round button, or to catch flies when (pro forma) presiding in a council of state, than to be generous or benevolent? How could Frederic William II. of Prussia be a philanthropist?

These two wretched crowned beings were the jailors, the tormentors of Lafayette and his friends, during five long years.

Lafayette, having made all necessary arrangements, departed from the inn of Bouillon, with his twenty-one companions of misfortune. His generous and noble mind was filled with melancholy and sad thoughts. What must have been his sufferings, in comparing his actual situation, abandoned and proscribed, with the splendor, the glory, and the power which had formerly surrounded him! His country the prey of factions, his beloved wife and children, his relations and friends, far from him and in the power of his imbittered enemies; all his great sacrifices, his hardships and troubles to establish a wise and sound freedom in his country, lost perhaps for ever! These were the sad reflections which occupied Lafayette in his ride towards the frontiers. Two consolatory thoughts came, nevertheless, to soothe his mind, and to throw some balm on his painful reflections. All his actions had been upright and fully in accordance with his principles; he could not be accused of any egotistical or dishonorable act during the long and stormy events of the five past years. His line of conduct was in strict accordance with his conviction and his principles. He disregarded, he rejected even with disdain, every advice, every insinuation made him to favor his power or his personal interest. We have seen him, on the contrary, sacrificing his large fortune, declining the command of four millions of armed men, braving the rage of the rabble, and exposing his person to almost certain death. His entire conviction of acting in accordance with his principles, gave him that firmness and serenity which became his safeguard and his only shield against the thousand blows of his enemies. In his principles were also included the horror of human bloodshed; and thus we have seen him placing himself before the mouth of a cannon in the moment of its firing. This action alone is the

strongest characteristic trait of Lafayette's principles ; and when a man is able to go so far as he did here, then we can but admire his greatness and accuse the weakness, not of the man, but of his too far extended indulgent principles. It is therefore under this point of view that the reader must consider why these comments are made. Another less pre-occupied mind would have acted perhaps with more energy.

The second consolatory thought which crossed his mind, in this moment, was, the conviction of finding in Washington and his countrymen grateful and sincere friends ; he was certain that the Americans would exert themselves to the utmost, to make him forget all his sufferings. These two thoughts gave him comfort and new vigor to endure the long series of sufferings, of which I shall here give some particulars.

Lafayette and his companions hoped to avoid the enemy ; but night came on, and their horses being worn out by a forced march and a heavy and incessant rain, they found it utterly impossible to proceed further. They perceived, at a small distance, the fire of an Austrian bivouac. They halted and deliberated on the steps to be taken. It was nearly eleven o'clock ; none of them knew the road, and the darkness was so great as to render it impossible to find it. In this state of embarrassment, increased by the fear of being pursued and overtaken by the French, they determined at all risks to proceed, and without discovering their names or rank, to demand of the Austrian commander permission to pass the posts and take refuge in Holland, at that time a neutral territory. This resolution being taken, Colonel Bureau de Puzy, the only individual who understood German, advanced towards the Austrian officer, who received him very politely. He informed him that he and his companions had deserted from the French army, finding themselves compelled to leave the country in consequence of intrigue and faction, and desired to speak with the commander of the fortress of Rochefort, to obtain from him a safe conduct into Holland. The Lieut. Col. Count d'Harmancourt, commandant of the place, received him very politely, and wished to send him, as all the rest of the emigrants had been sent until then, to the duke of Bourbon, commander of the neighboring posts. M. de Puzy replied,

that he and his companions should not be confounded with the emigrants carrying arms against their country; that they were patriots and officers attached to the constitutional laws, who had left the army; and demanded nothing but a free passage to go in search of an asylum in a country which might not be in war against France. The Count d'Harmancourt detained de Puzy, and sent word to the rest to advance: it was impossible to disobey. They were conducted into an inn and Lafayette was immediately recognized. The commandant said to them, it was impossible to depart before the next day. De Puzy was charged to give him the names, though he knew them already; after which they were received with great demonstrations of respect, but nothing more.

Meanwhile, Austrian hussars arrived. The commandant had mentioned the names of the prisoners, as he called them; when they mentioned to him the impropriety of such a denomination, he excused himself as well as he could, but declared that before he could give permission to proceed on their road, it was necessary he should have an order from the general commandant of Namur. De Puzy accompanied the officer who was sent thither. When he left Rochefort, the 21st of August, fresh troops had arrived. The commandant of Namur was absent, and his second in command, a man seventy years old, having seen the name of Lafayette on the report, began to sing and dance like a madman, in presence of all the officers and Bureau de Puzy, exclaiming joyfully, *Lafayette is taken! Lafayette is taken!* De Puzy asked for passports, which were denied him as a ridiculous and most foolish request. "How can you think," said this commander to him, "that the allied powers would let Lafayette escape after he had fallen into their hands?" When the general, Marquis de Chasteler, the governor of Namur, arrived, he very politely invited de Puzy to dine with him, and there, in the conversation, the Prince Lambesc being present, mentioned his having heard M. de Calonne say in a loud voice, when the emperor hesitated to declare war, "If they continued still to hesitate, the French princes would find the means to have it declared by the French government!" A strange coincidence with what had happened with the French ministry and the declaration of war by Dumouriez.

When Gen. Count Clairfait was apprized that Lafayette had departed, he tried to take advantage of the disorganization of the French camp ; but owing to the precautions which the latter had taken, he found the army secure against any attempt, and the commissioners acknowledged that this service had been performed.

The prisoners made at Rochefort a strong and dignified protestation, which they demanded should be deposited in the hands of some public officer ; in which these fugitives declared their wish not to be confounded with the emigrants who were armed against their country. This declaration, although an honorable proof of their loyalty to their principles, has, nevertheless, much embittered their enemies, and undoubtedly contributed to aggravate their destiny.

They were conducted, on the 21st, from Rochefort to Namur. The general, Marquis de Chasteler, had returned; and was the governor of the place ; the same who, five years afterwards, came to Olmutz with propositions from the Austrian cabinet, to the three prisoners, to which they refused to assent. Chasteler said to Lafayette, that the Archduke Charles had been commissioned by their royal highnesses, (the French princes, or rather, the Duke Albert and the Archduchess Christina, governors of the Netherlands,) to have a private conversation with him upon the situation of France, and hinted also, that in consequence of the just complaints which he (Lafayette) had against his country, they expected to obtain some information from him. "I know not," answered Lafayette, "whether such a commission has been given ; but I do not believe that any person will dare to execute it on me." At this moment, the prince entered. The conversation was, although obliging and very polite on the side of the archduke, very significant and dry on that of the prisoners ; and when, upon request, the generals only remained alone in the room, the prisoners became entirely silent. Having remained some minutes in this singular situation, M. de Chasteler said : "I think the situation in which we are placed must be tedious to you, gentlemen, and for the Archduke Charles ; it is at least very much so to me ; and it seems to me it would be better to finish it at once." The prisoners bowed, smiling, but without replying one word ; they then separated and

withdrew. It is, nevertheless, just to mention that Prince Charles was, during the whole interview, very polite and attentive towards the prisoners.

In the evening Gen. Chasteler came to visit the prisoners in their inn. He requested Lafayette to grant him a private interview. He showed him the draught of a letter which was to be, as he said, written to their royal highnesses the governess of the Netherlands and the duke of Saxe-Teschen. In this letter the opinions of Lafayette were spoken of in a very incorrect manner, and in particular, he was represented as regretting the abolition of the nobility of France: "I am much obliged to you, on account of your intentions," said he to Chasteler, "but I must declare to you, that if you thus misrepresent my principles and sentiments, I shall be compelled to decidedly disavow the assertions which your kindness has dictated."

From Namur they were removed to Nivelles, where a commission came from Brussels, to make an inventory of whatsoever was supposed to belong to the king of France. Lafayette, astonished, replied with great energy, "All that I understand of this strange commission is, that if the Duke of Saxe-Teschen had been in my place, he would have stolen the army chest!" The prisoners were conducted from Nivelles to Luxemburg, where they were closely watched. They received the visit of an Austrian counsellor of state, to whom Lafayette, Latour Maubourg, Bureau de Puzy, and Alexander Lameth, all four members of the assembly constituante, explained themselves in a frank and patriotic manner, worthy of themselves. An attempt was there made by a troop of furious emigrants, to assassinate Lafayette. It was preceded by the publication of one of Rivarol's pamphlets, to which he had given this motto: *Et dubitamus adhuc mercedem extendere factis*. The Austrian commandant took measures to prevent the repetition of such an atrocity. Nevertheless, they searched carefully the portmanteaux of the prisoners, but found, to their utter shame and confusion, nothing similar to a treasure. They had, besides, to suffer greatly from the sport and sarcasms of the prisoners during this shameful operation. Lafayette applied for a passport; the Duke of Saxe-Teschen replied, that one was reserved for his journey to the scaffold!

The order arrived at last to separate the prisoners. There were in all twenty-two of them. The four constituantes, Lafayette, Cesar Latour Maubourg, Alexander de Lameth, and Bureau de Puzy, were detained as state prisoners and conducted to Nivelles; the others, treated as prisoners of war, were parted and kept at Namur, Luxemburg and Nivelles, and at different times set at liberty.

While the allied powers satisfied their hatred against Lafayette, the Jacobins acted also their part. The project of accusation, rejected on the 8th, as mentioned, was again called for, and had been fully decreed the 19th of August, the day before he had left the army. They pronounced his desertion and arrest, and indicted him formally, which was at that time a sentence of death.

As soon as the orders arrived from Vienna, which decided the fate of the prisoners, to be given up to the king of Prussia, these four constituantes were conducted under a military escort from Nivelles to Wesel, where they were kept in sight by non-commissioned officers, who received the order to fix constantly their eyes upon them without answering a word to their questions.

The Austrians, before they were delivered up to the Prussians, sold their horses and arms, and robbed them of their money! Lafayette fell dangerously sick at Wesel; Latour Maubourg, detained separately, requested urgently to be allowed to visit his friend at all extremities. His request was refused! A salutary crisis saved Lafayette; he recovered slowly. It was at that moment that the king of Prussia thought that he might profit by the great bodily weakness and the wretched state of Lafayette, in proposing to him to alleviate his sufferings, if he would communicate some plans against France. Lafayette's eyes flashed fire in reply to this proposition: "Tell my crowned jailor he may bury me alive, before I comply with his infamous insinuation: begone!" He was now treated with more rigor; and, scarcely able to move, the four prisoners were thrown upon an open cart, in which was spread some straw, and conducted to Magdebourg. They refused constantly to give them any news from their families, the reading of newspapers, or any thing which could contribute to alleviate the anxiety felt

by all for the existence of their wives and children, exposed to the most severe proscriptions.

This act of tyranny, exercised over men whose opinions had been received with enthusiasm by the greater part of France, was an additional stain upon the character of Frederic William II., who promised, at the commencement of his reign, so many fine things; and who finished it by the ruin of his country, and the dissipation of an immense treasure, amassed by the great Frederic with so much care. What shall we say of the miserable Austrian monarch, who, like a sergeant of police, consented to surrender these illustrious refugees without shame or remorse!

The consequences of these cruelties were eventually as mischievous to those who committed them as to those who suffered. Prussia and Austria plainly indicated by this, the violent measures they intended to pursue, should the counter-revolution succeed. These two cabinets were the faithful allies of the Jacobin faction, and certain it is, they did all in their power to serve it; for from that time, a majority of the French nation were confirmed in the fears they had entertained of the projects of the Prussian and Austrian armies, if they ever entered France. Every one feared the resentment of the emigrants of the league. The new government well knew how to avail itself of this disposition to inspire them with zeal. All of the generals who had before wavered, now obeyed the orders of the assembly, and the soldiers swore to conquer or die; and the great mass of the nation, rallying around the government, flew to arms to expel this cruel and sanguinary enemy from the country.

One of the principal accusations of the Jacobins, which was true, against Lafayette, was the proposition made to conclude with the Duke of Saxe-Teschen a cartel, by which the emigrants would have been regarded as prisoners of war: here, we have again a convincing proof of Lafayette the *American* general: he wished to put the emigrants on the same footing on which American Tories, who joined the English, stood in the war of the American revolution.

Universal indignation was excited. General Washington and his countrymen were filled with grief; they

saw in the captive Lafayette the hero of their liberties, and the brave companion of their toils. The government of the United States warmly espoused the cause of the unhappy prisoners. The leading members of the opposition in parliament, Fitzpatrick, Fox, Sheridan, Bedford, and many others, loudly exclaimed against it; but the English minister remained mute and unmoved, when a single word from him would have freed them. Might not this have been owing to Lafayette's taking so active an interest in the American revolution? This has been openly and repeatedly asserted, and never contradicted; and we leave to posterity to decide whether it be true.

In conveying them in this manner, it was thought public scorn would be excited: but this expectation was disappointed. The liveliest interest was every where excited in their behalf. They were confined a whole year at Magdeburg. Here they were each one separately shut up in a dark and wet dungeon, under four doors with iron bars and strong padlocks. They found themselves more pleased, (if I may use this term,) because they were permitted occasionally to see each other and to take an hour's walk in one of the bastions.

Lafayette found here, amidst his great misery, a worthy friend in the person of Capt. John Muller, an old soldier who was decorated with the cross of the order of merit, for having distinguished himself during the bloody campaigns of the seven years' war under Frederic II. king of Prussia. He pitied the wretched situation of Lafayette, and alleviated his sufferings as much as he could. But the greatest service which he rendered him, as Madame de Lafayette assured me, when they dined with us after their liberation at Halle, was to furnish him regularly with writing materials, and occasionally with newspapers and periodicals, and a dictionary to enable him to understand them, as they were almost all in the German language.

An order was suddenly issued by the king of Prussia, for removing Lafayette to Neiss; Latour Maubourg begged in vain to be sent there with his friend, but they conveyed him to Gratz, to which place Bureau de Puzy was soon after transferred. It was not until the period of their delivery to Austria, that the three were brought

together again at Neiss. Alexander Hamoth, being dangerously ill, could not be transported along with his companions. His mother, who was distinguished for her virtues, obtained of Frederic William, after much solicitation, permission for him to remain in prison in his states; and when at length peace was declared between this king and the French, she prevailed upon him to grant him his liberty. The king the more readily granted this, because he did not feel himself obliged any longer to use his former caution towards the court of Vienna, now exasperated at him for withdrawing from the league. The prisoners were at length transferred to Neiss, and although their dungeon here was even more miserable and unhealthy than the former ones, yet they rejoiced at the change, because it brought the three prisoners together again, and moreover added to their society Madame Maisonneuve, who voluntarily came to share the fate of her brother Maubourg.

The king of Prussia, in order not to have his victims snatched out of his possession when he made peace with France, concluded to send them into Austria. They were accordingly conveyed to Olmutz.

CHAPTER XXI.

Lafayette's arrival at Olmutz—Description of his prison—Dr. Bollmann's and Mr. Huger's attempt to free Lafayette—Its consequence—Sensation produced abroad, at Lafayette's arrest.

WHEN the three prisoners arrived at Olmutz, they were stripped of what little the Prussians had left, which was in fact nothing but their watches and buckles, and two books, (*l'Esprit d' Helvétius* and *le Sens-Commun* de Thomas Payne,) in which the word freedom occurred rather more frequently than suited the government; whereupon Lafayette inquired "if they were contraband." They were each informed, as they were incarcerated in their separate cells, that they would never again see any thing but the four walls of their prison house; that they would never again hear a human voice;

that their very names were proscribed, and that in future they would be designated, in despatches to government, by the numbers of their respective cells; that they never would have the satisfaction of knowing the situation of their families, or their reciprocal existence; and that as such a situation naturally invited to suicide, knives, forks, and every means of destruction were to be withheld from them."

The three prisoners, thus abandoned to their miserable reflections, were immured in the dungeons of the ancient castle of the Jesuits, the walls of which are twelve feet thick; and into which air is admitted through an opening two feet square, which is secured at each end by transverse massive iron bars. Immediately before these loop holes was a broad ditch, which was covered with water only when it rained, and at other times was a stagnant marsh, from which a poisonous effluvium was constantly exhaling; and beyond this were the outer walls of the castle, which prevented the slightest breeze from passing to the captives in these horrid dungeons, although the heat was almost intolerable. On these walls were, in the daytime, four, and at night, eight sentinels, with loaded muskets, constantly watching the prisoners, and forbidden, on pain of one hundred lashes, to speak a word with them, and with orders to shoot them dead if they attempted an escape. The cellar of this castle had a large saloon, two hundred feet long and twelve wide, in which was kept a guard consisting of an officer and twenty-five men, and a corporal and four soldiers, who alternately kept guard before the door of the prisoners. These soldiers were forbidden, while on duty, either to sing, speak, or whistle.

As this castle had served for a prison for four years previously to Lafayette's confinement, there had been constructed for each cell two doors, one of iron, the other of wood, near two feet thick. Both were covered with bolts, and bars, and double padlocks: every time the inspector of the prisons entered, the whole guard stood to their arms. Four men were posted at each side of the door; the sergeant, with his sword drawn, remained without, while the officer of the guard entered the inner door, with his sword also drawn. The men crossed their bayonets, while the inspector examined every corner and

device with the greatest minuteness. When the jailer entered with their wretched pittance, twice a day, it was scrupulously examined, particularly the bread, which was crumbled to pieces for the purpose, by the officer on guard, to discover if there was any note or communication whatever contained in it. A wretched bed of rotten straw, filled with vermin, together with a broken chair and an old worm-eaten table, formed the whole furniture of each apartment. The cells were eight or ten paces deep, and six or eight wide; and when it rained, the water ran through the loop holes and off the walls in such quantities, that they would sometimes wake in the morning, wet to the skin. A miserable lamp lighted them in the night, and when the sun did not shine, which happened very frequently in this wet country, the prisoners remained almost in total darkness during the whole day. Such was the situation of these three illustrious men; and the faithful fellows, Felix Pontonnier and Augustus Ferret, who had followed their master through all his reverses, fared no better. The barbarous Austrians, born and nurtured in slavery, were dead to all virtuous feeling, and sneered at their attachment to their master. Occasionally, indeed, they were allowed to visit him, but not to approach within the door, and always with the accustomed ceremonies.

The Count Gen. d'Arco, then governor of Olmutz, had received the strictest orders from the powerful triumvirate, to treat the prisoners with the utmost rigor. He was an old but humane man, and would have acted far differently, had he not feared the loss of his place or something worse; he was obliged to follow the secret instructions which he received.

Lafayette, who had been very ill and who was not yet entirely recovered, received the visit of the superintendent of the prison, Capt. Brauers, accompanied by the surgeon-major of the garrison, who was a good and humane man. He represented Lafayette's illness, and the necessity of his breathing an air purer than that of his dungeon. The governor, fearing always the triumvirate, sent two other physicians, with the surgeon major, to visit Lafayette; and all three agreed to represent to the governor the urgency of allowing Lafayette to be permitted to take an occasional walk. The governor would

take nothing upon himself, and made his report, inclosing the certificate of the three physicians, and sent the whole to the minister of police, Count Saurau, at Vienna. He answered, "that Lafayette was not yet so very ill as to require such a permission; and that as any free communication with his gracious majesty's faithful subjects might be dangerous, the prisoner must remain *where he is*." It was not till after a third very strong appeal to Vienna, that the governor received permission to take the prisoner in his carriage, and to accompany him in his rides into the country, making him personally responsible for the consequences. Thus he was always accompanied with a sergeant standing behind the coach.

It was in one of these rides, (November 8, 1794,) that Dr. Bollman and Mr. Huger, the son of Maj. Huger of South-Carolina, where Lafayette landed when he first visited America, attempted to free them. The attempt was an unhappy one, and the result is too well known to be detailed here.

From this moment, Lafayette was treated with the utmost rigor. He had previous to his confinement, suffered a very severe fit of illness at Magdeburg, of which he had never been thoroughly cured. His anxieties, his fatigues, his anguish and despair, at finding himself again in the power of his unrelenting jailer, so shattered his nerves that his fever returned with redoubled and alarming violence. In this state, he was allowed nothing for his bed but a little damp and mouldy straw; irons were put round his feet, and round his waist was a chain, which was fastened to the wall, and barely permitted him to turn from one side to the other. No light was admitted into his cell, and he was even refused the smallest allowance of linen.

The winter of 1794-95 was extremely severe, but his inhuman jailers did not, on that account, relax from the rigor of prescribed and systematic oppression. It seemed, indeed, sufficiently evident, that their object was to put an end to their victim's existence, by this ingenious device of irresponsible cruelty. Worn down by disease and the severity of the season, his hair fell from his head, and he became emaciated to the last degree. To these physical distresses were now superadded those mental anxieties, which are, perhaps, still more difficult

to be endured. The only information he could obtain, respecting the fate of his wife and children, for whom he felt the most painful solicitude, was that they were still confined in the prison of Paris; and, in reply to his inquiries concerning the condition of Bollmann and Huger, his tormentors informed him that they were soon to perish by the hands of the hangman! They were at last released.

When the news of Lafayette's arrest reached America, a great outcry was uttered against this atrocious barbarity. No country gave stronger proof of gratitude, attachment and sincere friendship towards Lafayette, and of indignation against the Austrian government, than the citizens of the United States. They actively exerted themselves, with one accord, to effect his deliverance. The American government, by the medium of its ambassador, Mr Pinkney, opened negotiations with Lord Grenville, at London, which were kept up without interruption. President Washington sent, in 1793, Mr. Marshall to the king of Prussia, but he failed in his applications. In 1794, the prisoners having been transported into Austria, the new steps taken by the American ambassador, Fay, met with no better success.

President Washington himself wrote a most pressing letter to the emperor, to reclaim him as an American citizen, and to beseech him to permit Lafayette to retire to America. The court of Vienna, governed by the triumvirate, continued inexorable. Mr. Morris, ex-ambassador of the United States, could not even succeed in having a letter conveyed to Madame de Lafayette, to inquire after her health and that of the prisoners. The Americans had offered all that might be asked of them for the ransom of Lafayette: they had sent to two of his aides-de-camp the necessary sums for his deliverance. The one, Colonel Cadignan, resided in London, where he had married a rich heiress; the other, Auguste Masson, was established as a merchant at Hamburg.

In spite of all these exertions, the three courts of Vienna, Berlin and St. James, persisted in maintaining an inflexible silence. The most distinguished members of the English opposition, Fox, Wilberforce, Sheridan, and at their head Gen. Fitzpatrick, supported by Colonel Tarleton, who had fought against Lafayette in Virginia,

pleaded with force and combatted with courage, against the ministers of Pitt and the detractors of the prisoners of Olmutz. But it was in vain; the prisoners were still detained in captivity.

CHAPTER XXII.

Madame de Lafayette—Her imprisonment at Paris—Her sufferings and journey to Vienna—Her audience with the Emperor—Interview with her husband at Olmutz—Answer to the Governor—Her heroic devotion.

VERY few Americans know the exalted and heroic character and the great virtues of this distinguished lady, the worthy companion of Gen. Lafayette. I think, in relating the following circumstances, it may be a welcome and interesting lesson, particularly to the fairer part of my readers.

Lafayette, after having consulted with his three friends, Cesar Fay Latour Maubourg, Bureau de Puzy, and Alexander de Lameth, resolved to leave the army and to quit France for a time and join Gen. Washington in America. He wrote accordingly a long letter to his wife, in which he stated not only his motives of absenting himself, but requested her also to prepare, secretly, every means to come, with her two daughters, to join him.

After the 22d June, 1792, on which day the royal dignity was wantonly degraded; after the ever memorable 10th of August, on which the power of the sovereign was finally annihilated; after the 2nd of September, when the men of blood filled the measure of all the crimes they had the power to perpetrate; the convention, on the 22d January, 1793, passed the iniquitous and impolitic sentence, which doomed the unfortunate Louis XVI. to perish on the scaffold, to which his wife and sister were destined soon to follow him.

Gen. Lafayette, who, at the time, was in prison at Magdeburg, was immediately informed of this event by his jailers, who had the barbarity to attribute to him the death of his king. They burst into the dungeons of Messrs. Lafayette, Maubourg, Puzy, and Alexander Lameth, loaded them with insults, and told them that their

sovereign fortunately had it now in his power to revenge himself upon them, as the prime instigators of the ignominious death of Louis, by consigning them to torture and to death. Even the unfortunate domestics, Felix and Augustus, who were separated from their master, were not spared on this occasion. M. Bureau de Puzy alone understood German, but they all comprehended too well the meaning of these threats; and trembled, not so much for their own fate, as for that of their families in France; as they could easily conceive what might be the fatal results of such political fanaticism. The consequences of this event were terrible indeed; it divided the convention into two parties, and then followed, in gloomy succession, imprisonments, revolutionary tribunals, scaffolds, assassinations, and the most atrocious tyranny that ever disgraced the annals of history.

These dreadful days of terror and of blood, are now but too well known. I should not, therefore, have alluded to them, had not the families of our illustrious prisoners suffered so severely on their account.

The faction of the Jacobins became, in 1792, the absolute rulers of the destinies of France. The 22d of June, 1792, saw the degradation, and the 10th of August, the abolition, of the royal dignity; the national convention commenced the trial of Louis XVI.; he perished the 22d of January, 1793, on the scaffold, where, after long and horrid sufferings, the queen and his sister-in-law also finished their wretched existence.

Madame de Lafayette and her two daughters barely escaped the same fate. These bloody fanatical murderers, enraged by the sudden flight of Gen. Lafayette from his camp, turned their fury against his family. Lafayette, always too confident in mankind, had despatched a confidential person, the very morning on which he left the camp, with a letter to his wife, in which he stated to her his resolution of passing to America, and had requested her to remain quietly in Paris, until he could send for her and his family. The generous Lafayette committed two mistakes, in confiding too much in the generosity of the Austrian and Prussian monarchs, and secondly, in that of the Jacobin faction. The former arrested and treated him cruelly; the second persecuted his wife and children; both jailers, the German and the French,

were closely united, to destroy, if possible, this dreaded family.

Madame de Lafayette and her two daughters, her father and mother, the Duke and Duchess d'Ayen Noailles, her aunt the Duchess of Noailles, and various others of this numerous and wealthy family, were, in the dead of night, taken from their houses, and confined, like common criminals, in the different prisons of Paris, as so many victims marked out to expiate the general's *audacity*, as they termed it, in having attempted to brave them and resist their usurped power.

The sufferings of Madame de Lafayette, on hearing of the arrest of her husband by the emperor of Austria, while separated from her parents and the rest of her family, who, by a refinement of cruelty, had been sent to different prisons, can be better imagined than described. Her anxiety for all those beings so dear to her, for herself, her two young daughters, cannot be expressed by words; those only who have been in similar circumstances, can duly appreciate her dreadful and excruciating state of mind. George alone, her only son, was safe; and this gave some relief to her anguish. He had joined the venerable George Washington, and was treated by him as a dear and beloved son.

Any ordinary woman would, undoubtedly, have sunk under this accumulation of distress, and have become the victim of grief; but her strong and superior mind supported her under her sufferings. The name of Lafayette was sufficient to render her the object of hatred and persecution among her co-prisoners; she was confined in Saint Pelagie, one of the numerous prisons of Paris, where the victims of the reign of terror were accumulated. Madame de Lafayette knew perfectly well, that all the persons called to be tried before the revolutionary tribunal were so many victims devoted to perish on the scaffold; and she expected, under these and still severer sufferings, at every moment, to receive her act of accusation: the gloomy fate of her husband, arrested in a distant country; her poor children, still young and innocent, deprived of every support; her venerable, aged parents; all her relations and friends, exposed to suffer and die the death of crime: all these horrid pictures gave her not a moment of rest or sleep. When she related to me, with her usual

vivacity of action and speech, the circumstances, I was, in spite of the sternness of a soldier's feelings, so strongly moved, that I earnestly requested her to stop and to converse upon any other subject. When she spoke to me, her two very interesting daughters, Anastasie and Virginia, were kneeling at her side and wept bitterly, their heads reclining on the lap of their mother. Gen. Lafayette often joined with me to request her to try and forget these horrible days; but she answered us, in an animated voice, that she could never efface from her mind the strong impressions received during this crisis.

Every day, Madame de Lafayette received the news of the execution of one or more of her relations and friends. Her grandmother, the Mareschale de Noailles, her father and mother, the Duke and Duchess d'Ayen, and her sister, the Viscountess de Noailles, and various others of the family of the Noailles, had been condemned by the bloody tribunal of the Jacobins, which, in order to be more expeditious, had divided itself into two different branches; the one took, as by mockery, the name of the Hall of the Tribunal of Liberty, and the other of Equality. (*La Salle de la Liberte, et la Salle de l'Egalite.*) The Viscountess of Noailles and her daughter, were led to the guillotine on a common cart of two wheels, as usual, drawn by one horse, in company with various other distinguished persons, crowded together. Among them was a young man sitting next to the two former, also condemned to death, who lamented his untimely fate, and even cried aloud, shedding bitter tears. The two heroines spoke to him kindly, consoled him, and inspired him finally with so much courage, that he not only became firm, but died like them with the greatest fortitude.

The large estate of Gen. Lafayette was confiscated and sold; a part of that belonging to his wife shared the same fate; while her family, one of the most wealthy and respectable, were for ever ruined. The chateau of La Grange and its territory, the constant abode of Gen. Lafayette, was among the property of Madame de Lafayette given to her by her aunt the Duchess de Noailles, and remained safe.

In the midst of all the horrors of death and desolation which struck at all she held most dear upon earth, and

in the continual expectation of being carried to the scaffold in her turn, she had strength of mind to assume a character of calmness and resignation which astonished all around her. It was only in the remotest corner of her wretched prison that she prayed and wept bitterly, so that she could not be perceived by her young daughters, whom she endeavored to console in the midst of her miseries.

The 9th of Thermidor, (27th July, 1794,) put at last an end to the reign of terror, and Madame de Lafayette was saved; but it was only after ten weeks of confinement, and after the most pressing solicitations of her numerous friends, that she was set at liberty. Her health had suffered seriously by nineteen months of anxiety and imprisonment, and so much the more as her constitution was very delicate and weak. Her friends and physicians advised her to go into the country, where she might recruit her delicate health; but she rejected, with her usual vivacity, even the thought of this advice; her whole soul was in Olmutz, where Lafayette was then confined in prison. She had even taken the heroic resolution of joining her beloved husband, and of shutting herself up in his gloomy dungeon, to share with him his wretched fate, and to die with him there.

This heroic act alone has immortalized her name, but does not in the least surprize me, well acquainted as I am with her great and accomplished mind. First, however, she endeavored to save her husband by applying in person for his relief, to the emperor of Austria, the crowned jailer of Lafayette.

She departed, in consequence, for Strasburg, with her two daughters; but well aware that the name of Lafayette would be a bar to her entering the Austrian territory and penetrating to its emperor, she had provided herself with an American passport under the name of Madame Mottier, one of the christian names of her husband. She had sold a part of her jewels for the expenses of her journey. This she performed with such secrecy and despatch, that her friends thought her still in Paris, when she was in fact arrived at Strasburg. Her porter was ordered to say to all who should present themselves at the hotel, that she had gone for a couple of days into the country.

At Strasburg they told her she might shorten her journey much, by obtaining permission to pass through Limtz and Regensburg to Vienna; but as the Austrian army occupied these countries, nobody could pass their cantonnements or camps without having previously obtained a written permission signed by the Archduke Charles, commander-in-chief of the army. She sent one of the former aids-de-camp of her husband, the Colonel Louis Romoeuff, to the archduke, in order to obtain the permission for Mrs. Mottier. The prince received the colonel with his usual urbanity, but expressed his regret at being unable to grant the request of Mrs. Mottier, *because this was not in his power*. These expressions, in the mouth of a prince like the Archduke Charles, explained clearly how great, at the time, was the power of the two ministers, Thugut and Saurau, leagued with the empress of Austria, who had vowed a deadly hatred to the French revolution, and particularly to Lafayette. Madame de Lafayette was therefore obliged to make a great circuit in passing through Dresden to Vienna. At Vienna she had the good fortune to find two excellent friends, who had some influence at the imperial court. The one was the Duchess of Ursule, a lady of great ability and wit, who had emigrated from Brabant, during the first trouble of the French revolution; the second was the Countess of Windishgraetz, one of the first ladies of Vienna. I afterwards saw them both frequently; and both spoke in the highest terms of the heroic character of Madame de Lafayette. She communicated to both the only motive of her journey to Vienna, to wit: "To obtain an audience with the emperor, and to speak to him in favor of her husband, relying, as she said, upon his known goodness of heart, his love for justice, and also the innocence of Gen. Lafayette."

The two ladies estimated highly the well established character of Gen. Lafayette, and were sincerely attached to his wife. They made her acquainted with the Prince of Rosenberg, who, full of admiration for her noble character, procured her a private audience from the emperor. As the Prince of Rosenberg was a great favorite with the sovereign, and above the despicable intrigues of Thugut and Saurau, these two powerful ministers knew nothing, either of the arrival of Madame de Lafayette,

who had requested her friends to conceal her real name, or of the audience granted afterwards by the emperor to Madame de Lafayette.

Madame de Lafayette surpassed herself on this occasion. She collected all her strength and presence of mind, took her two charming daughters with her, and, accompanied by the Duchess of Ursule and the Prince of Rosemberg, presented herself before the emperor and supplicated him, in the name of justice and humanity, to grant her husband's liberty, urging that he had never offended the emperor, that he was forced to leave his country, and that his intention was to embark for the United States of America. That if he refused her, she supplicated his majesty to permit her at least to see her husband and to share his captivity.

She spoke with so much energy and truth, that she made a strong and favorable impression upon Francis II., who is of a good and mild character, but weak and timid. Madame d'Ursule said to me that she could not refrain from tears, nor could the two young Misses Lafayette. The emperor heard her with great attention, but with a visibly embarrassed countenance. He appeared, when she had finished, to reflect some minutes, and said to her in French: "Madame, this matter is complicated; my hands are bound, and I cannot do what I wish; but I grant you with pleasure what I can, in permitting you to go and join Monsieur de Lafayette; and if I were in your place I would act as you do. Monsieur de Lafayette is *well treated*, but the company of his wife and children will be a source of greater happiness to him." Madame de Lafayette spoke to him then of Messrs. de Latour Maubourg and Bureau de Puzy, adding that there could exist nothing complicated in their concern!

The emperor gave her permission to write him after her arrival at Olmutz, and to address her letter directly to him, adding, "that he would do all which lay in his power to prove to her the regard which he had conceived for her." In pronouncing these few words, he looked steadfastly upon the daughters of Madame de Lafayette, and appearing much embarrassed, he made a bow in a very awkward manner and left the room.

The friends of Madame de Lafayette had foretold her that the emperor could not grant her the liberty of her

husband, for they not only knew the character of the all-powerful ministers Thugut and Saurau, and that of the empress, but the Prince Rosemberg stated to her reluctantly, "that Francis secretly hated Gen. Lafayette." Madame de Lafayette, nevertheless, had flattered herself with the hope of obtaining her request, after all she had heard respecting the *good hearted* character of the emperor, and sought this interview with great anxiety. She was deceived in her hopes, but, nevertheless, consoled with the gracious assurances of the emperor. She thought now of nothing else than departing from Vienna to join her husband at Olmutz.

She travelled with the greatest speed, day and night, and permitted herself not the least rest. She arrived at Olmutz the 13th of November, 1795, at the same hotel where Bollmann and Huger had taken their residence some time previously to her arrival, in order to execute the deliverance of Gen. Lafayette. This heroic enterprise deserved to have been crowned with a full success; but, unhappily, it served only to increase the rigorous captivity of Lafayette, and to put in irons the generous young men, the authors of this heroic deed.

Scarcely had Madame de Lafayette alighted from her carriage, when she sent to the governor the news of her arrival, and requested permission to see her husband. The name of Madame de Lafayette spread terror and anxiety among all these Austrian slaves; they came in crowds to see the wife of a monster of a Frenchman who had killed his legitimate sovereign. There were, it must be confessed, in the higher circles, which I frequented at the time at Vienna and Olmutz, a great many among them, who, although in secret, sincerely admired and pitied these illustrious prisoners; but they knew too well the character of the minister Thugut: and wo to them, if they dared to pronounce openly their sentiments.

The governor of the fortress of Olmutz, Baron de Schroeter, came not, but sent, after a long interval, the Count of Makelico, inspector of the prisons in which Lafayette and company were detained. The count was then captain in the Austrian staff, a fine Irishman of polite manners and education, who spoke French very correctly. He was one of the secret friends of Gen. Lafayette, and rendered me, during my mission to Olmutz, very im-

portant services. The governor-general, Baron Schroeter, was also friendly to Lafayette, but he feared, as he told me afterwards, the sad consequences of the least condescension towards the prisoners, from the minister Thugut. He even said to me, that he was surrounded with spies, who reported all his actions to the triumvirate, as he called them, viz: the late empress, the Baron de Thugut and the Count of Saurau.

Before I proceed further, I may state briefly what happened at the court of Vienna, shortly after the departure of Madame de Lafayette from that capital. The circumstances were related to me during my stay at Vienna, by well-informed persons.

The empress, of a proud and irascible temper, could never forgive Madame de Lafayette for having neglected to make known to her her arrival at Vienna, and to implore her protection. But Madame de Lafayette was too well acquainted with the character of this haughty princess, with her hatred against Gen. Lafayette, and with her being at the head of what was then called the *triumvirate*.

As soon as the empress was informed of the private audience obtained by Madame de Lafayette, she flew into a passion, and sent immediately for her two secret counsellors, Thugut and Saurau. As her vengeance could not fall upon the Prince of Rosenberg nor the two ladies, the friends of Madame de Lafayette, it was directed against the latter and her husband, prisoner at Olmutz. The triumvirate concerted and executed the following plan :

The Count Saurau, as president of the police, sent one of his agents immediately to Olmutz, who reached that fortress before the arrival of Madame de Lafayette, with secret instructions, concerning her and her husband, to the governor, Baron de Schroeter. With the tenor of these instructions the reader will soon be made acquainted. The two ministers redoubled their vigilance, ordered all the letters which should arrive from Olmutz, Dresden, and Hamburg, and the letters of Madame de Lafayette, to be secretly opened at the post-office in Vienna, so that none could reach her friends. The emperor, not knowing what passed at Olmutz, soon forgot Madame de Lafayette and her melancholy situation ; and the prison-

ers were left without the least protection and exposed to all the hatred of this wicked triumvirate, acting with impunity in the name of Francis II., who was at that time but the puppet of a Thugut and a Saurau, as he is at present of a Metternich.

We left Madame de Lafayette at Olmutz, expecting every moment to see the governor and go with him to the prison of her husband. But when captain Mak * * * was introduced to her instead of the governor, announcing that he was ordered by his excellency to accompany her to the prison of the general, her husband, she could not refrain from uttering some strong sarcasms upon the urbanity and politeness of his excellency the governor, who not only had left a lady waiting more than an hour for his gracious presence, but who, instead of coming himself, had preferred sending one of his subalterns. Mak * * * attempted some excuses, but Madame de Lafayette, impatient to join her husband, rose, took her hat and shawl, and without any other remark, politely requested the captain to accompany her and her two daughters to the prison.

The ancient college of the Jesuits was transformed into a prison where Lafayette, Latour Maubourg, Bureau de Puzy, and the two servants of the former, were confined separately in a dark and wet dungeon. But how can we describe the feeling of horror and astonishment of Madame de Lafayette, at the sight of the high and thick walls of this gloomy prison, which the higher ramparts of the fortress surrounded and rendered still darker? A numerous guard was placed at the entrance of the prison; they passed a long, dark, dirty corridor, preceded by the jailer and the officer, and followed by eight men of the guard—all observing the greatest silence. They halted at last; the jailer opened the first door, by turning his immense key and unbolting its double iron locks; four soldiers were posted with fixed bayonets before it, while the jailer opened, in the same manner, the second still stronger door. The officer of the guard, with his drawn sword, stood before, and made a mute sign to the other four soldiers to advance, and to cross their bayonets before its entrance. These ridiculous precautions were observed every day when the doors of Gen. Lafayette's prison were opened, since the

unhappy attempt of Dr. Bellmann and Mr. Huger. These petty tyrants feared that Lafayette might attempt to force his passage; and they took this precaution of doubling the guards.

The Count Mak * * *, observing the ghastly countenance of Madame de Lafayette, during all these preparations, said to her in French some words of comfort; took her by the hand and introduced her and her two daughters, surrounded by bayonets and drawn swords, into the wretched abode of her beloved husband. But, horror-struck, she stepped back, when she saw from one of the corners of the dark prison a tall and pale figure, covered with miserable rags, advancing slowly towards her and casting himself into her arms. She assumed all her presence of mind and recovered, when she heard his well known voice. Such was Gen. Lafayette, when his wife and children cast themselves into his arms, and wept bitterly both for joy and grief.

It is impossible to depict the various feelings of these four interesting beings, and their mutual happiness, together with their melancholy thoughts at being united in such a place. Madame de Lafayette said to me afterwards, that her prison in Saint Pelagie, in Paris, was a paradise in comparison with this *Austrian hell*! (*cet enfer Autrichien*.)

After some moments of mutual satisfaction, they were roughly interrogated by the jailer, who inquired for the trunks and luggage of Madame de Lafayette and her daughters. She was obliged to deliver her keys, the trunks were opened, the money and all her valuable effects taken away, her carriage closely examined, and by the governor's order put in the coach-house. The Count Mak * * * ordered to be opened an iron door which led to a second dungeon, and had a free communication with that of the general. This was to be the future abode of Madame de Lafayette and her two daughters. Not satisfied with having taken their money; knives, forks, penknives, scissors, and every sharp instrument with which they could commit suicide, were removed from them.

These were the secret instructions sent by an agent to the governor, Baron de Schroeter, coming from the triumvirate in Vienna. These wretches did not know the high-minded character, the elevated sentiments of Ma-

Madame de Lafayette. Never had she shown more patience, mildness, and resignation, than during her confinement at Olmutz. The general has assured me that, in the midst of her great sufferings, caused by the humidity of her dungeon, she never uttered the least complaint: her constant cares were divided between him and her daughters; that she was, in short, his guardian angel and his only comfort.

The cruel and horrid treatment, which General and Madame de Lafayette received, in direct opposition to the assurances given by the emperor, "that Monsieur de Lafayette was well treated," was shocking to Madame de Lafayette, and she requested to have an interview with the governor. They told her that he had received peremptory orders not to visit her, but that she could apply to him in writing. She then requested to write to the emperor, in accordance with the permission he had given; this was refused, with the remark that her demands made to the governor should be sent to Vienna. They were the following: To hear mass every Sunday, to have a soldier's wife to serve her daughters, and to have for herself and husband one of her own servants. No answer was returned to these demands, or to the request of being permitted to see Messrs. de Latour Maubourg and Bureau de Puzy, which she directed some time afterwards to the minister of war. At last, arrived an order couched in the following laconic words: "Madame de Lafayette has consented to share the captivity of her husband." This cruel reply was not given by the minister of war, but by the president of the Austrian police, the Count de Saurau; or rather by the empress. I have said that none of her friends at Vienna had received a single line from Madame de Lafayette. I am certain that not a single letter from them had reached her during her imprisonment at Olmutz. It was only on my first arrival at this fortress, (to which I came at five successive intervals,) that I found secure means of corresponding with her and receiving her answers.

As Gen. Lafayette had been obliged to give his word of honor never to write a single letter during his whole captivity at Olmutz, after Bollmann and Huger's failure to deliver him, it was Madame de Lafayette who took charge of this correspondence. Through me, all the pri-

soners received the news and letters from the United States of America, England, France and Germany; and never had the triumvirate any suspicion of such a correspondence.

Madame de Lafayette, breathing a corrupted air, seeing the horrid sufferings of her husband, who was afflicted with a severe rheumatism, although he took great pains to conceal it from her, found herself surrounded with jailers, bolts and soldiers, who, observing the lingering state of the health of her two daughters, felt that she was on the eve of a severe malady, which would prevent her, perhaps for ever, from assisting her family, and particularly her husband, now unable to move without her or her daughters' support. In this wretched situation, she thought it her duty to make a last effort to preserve her health; she wrote to the emperor to ask his leave to spend eight days at Vienna, where she could breathe a salubrious air and consult a good physician. After a silence of two months, which were employed by the triumvirate in inquiring very particularly from the governor after the true state of the health of Madame de Lafayette, which was plainly stated by a certificate given and signed by the surgeon of the garrison; the count of Saurau was authorized to give secret instructions to the governor of Olmutz. The letter of Madame de Lafayette to the emperor, was, as all the others were, intercepted by the triumvirate, and Francis remained perfectly ignorant of what was going on at Olmutz.

As soon as Gen. Schroeter had received his orders from Vienna, he acted in the following manner: He entered, with the Count Mak * * *, the dungeon of Lafayette. As he came unexpectedly, he found there united Madame and the two young Misses de Lafayette. He hesitated an instant, and directed the Count M * * *, inspector of these prisons, who spoke French correctly, to request the young ladies to retire into their room, and to lock the door upon them, which was done. The grave and very gloomy aspect of the governor, the jailer, with his two assistants, the numerous guards standing before the open door, with drawn swords and pointed bayonets, the unexpected visit of the governor, who had never come before, spread terror into the souls of these two illustrious

prisoners, and excited in them the most gloomy suspicions. But when Madame de Lafayette was requested, in the name of the governor, to bid her daughters retire into their room, and order was given to lock them up, she, whose imagination was very lively and sensitive, was seized with terror, and exclaimed, in extending her arms towards Mak * * *, "Oh God! Oh God!! will they then absolutely murder us!" Mak * * *, in relating to me some time afterwards this dreadful visit, told me that he had the greatest difficulty to persuade Madame de Lafayette, that there was not the least intention to murder either her or her husband, and that as soon as the governor had retired, he would himself open the door of her daughters' room, and she should see them again. Madame de Lafayette had already experienced the humanity of the captain, who had done all that lay in his power, without compromising himself, to alleviate the rigorous captivity of the prisoners; and, relying upon these promises, thanked him warmly and became more composed.

The governor, through his interpreter, Mak * * *, forbade Madame de Lafayette, "in the name of his majesty, the emperor," ever again to come to Vienna, and gave her permission to leave the prison with her two daughters, but under the express condition never to enter it again. He requested her to take her choice, and to give him her determination in writing, and to sign it. He took a sheet of paper and told her by signs to write, as he had the order to take this paper with him. She wrote, without the least hesitation, the following answer.

"The duties which I owe to my family and my friends had required that I should seek the necessary means of establishing my health; but they know well that the conditions on which this may be done are not at all acceptable to me. I cannot forget that, while we were on the eve of perishing, I, myself, by the tyranny of Robespierre, and my husband, by the bodily and mental sufferings of his captivity, I was not permitted to obtain any news from him, neither to let him know that we were, his children and myself, still alive: and I will not expose myself to the horrors of a second separation. Whatever may be the state of my health and the inconvenience

of this abode for my daughters, we will seize with gratitude the kindness shown us by his imperial majesty, in granting us to share *this captivity in all its circumstances.*

Signed,

NOAILLES DE LAFAYETTE.

This was precisely what the triumvirate wanted. Now they were authorized to say to the emperor that it was the wish of Madame de Lafayette, *her own choice*, to remain confined with her husband. They triumphed! and when at court the conversation turned upon the great sufferings of Madame de Lafayette, who had there numerous admirers and friends, the empress and her creatures replied drily, "Madame de Lafayette has wished to share the fate of her husband; she has not the least right to complain."

From this time Madame de Lafayette made not the least complaint, but submitted herself with resignation and patience to her fate.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Detail of the motives which led the author to proceed from Hamburg to Olmutz—His arrival at this fortress—His correspondence with Madame de Lafayette—Some remarks on the friends of the prisoners and his interview with them.*

In the year 1795, I found myself on leave at Hamburg; and as I have always loved literature and the society of literary men, I found in Altona and Hamburg very attractive and mixed society. Among them I was intimate with Klopstock, Archenholtz, Busch, Ebeling, Fahrenkruger, Musaeus, Claudius, Unzer, Voss; I frequently visited, also, professor Wolstein, Holcroft and his accomplished daughter, Dr. Wendeborn, Generals Matthieu Dumas, Valence, Madame de Genlis, Rivaroll, Fauche Borrell, and a great many others.

One day, Captain von Archenholtz came to visit me. We were alone. We spoke, among other things, of the

* I must be permitted to be very short in these details, for two reasons. First, I do not like to speak much of myself. Second, The printer requests me not to extend the work above three hundred pages!!

melancholy situation of the Olmutz prisoners. The captain asked me if I was inclined to do any thing to assist them? I eagerly embraced the proposal, and told him that no consideration should restrain me, and that I was ready to make every attempt to release them from their barbarous imprisonment.

He accepted joyfully my offer, and we went the same evening to speak with our mutual friend, M. Auguste Masson, ex-aid-de-camp of Lafayette, established a short time since as a merchant at Hamburg. He informed me that the American government had sent large funds to him and Mr. John Parish, the American consul at Hamburg, and to Colonel Cadignan, another ex-aid-de-camp of Lafayette, married to a rich English lady and residing at London. That we had besides an excellent friend in Mr. Joseph Masclet in London, who had never seen Lafayette, but was of the same political opinions, and admired his virtues. He was a man of fine character and rare merit. At the revolution, he left his studies and became aid-de-camp of Count de Valence. After the 10th of August, being at Strasburg with his general, he received a letter from one of his friends who wrote him to fly upon the instant, as he was *out-lawed*. He emigrated to save his life, and took refuge in England, where he married a wealthy widow. Masclet, living retired with his wife in a country place near London, continually wrote against the detention of Lafayette, and his numerous articles were inserted in the Morning Chronicle, and the newspapers of Holland and Germany. Masclet had assumed the name of "*Eleuthere*," signifying in Greek, freeman, which he signed to his writings in favor of Lafayette. No difficulty, no danger could arrest him in this pious and patriotic undertaking. He formed connexions with the principal members of the opposition of the English parliament, and induced the friends in whom he felt confidence, to exert themselves for the deliverance of Lafayette. Prompted by him, the English people deplored, with their pens, this iniquitous captivity, and addressed the most cutting reproaches to France, for her indifference to his confinement. A feeling of humanity, a love of justice, and an elevated reason, alone inspired, Masclet to undertake his long and perilous enterprize—indeed, most perilous; as the Austrian go-

vernment, irritated at seeing itself without a defender in the English parliament, and unmasked to the eyes of Europe, growing more and more indignant at what was passing at Olmutz, had sent numerous emissaries to London, to ferret out this *Eleuthere*, who braved and mocked at its rage by continuing his complaints, and multiplying himself into every shape to obtain the justice he demanded in the name of the laws of nations and of humanity; but all the efforts of the Austrian cabinet to discover *Eleuthere*, were fruitless. Austria endeavored to justify her conduct at bottom, by persuading the world of the gentleness of the means which she employed, and of her pretended mild treatment of her victims. She caused a manifesto to be published, in which her excellent proceeding towards the prisoners of Olmutz were enumerated at length. Masclet replied by energetic refutation to this manifesto, and disclosed the whole truth. His refutation was corroborated by a letter of M. de Noailles, a relative of Madame Lafayette.

The letters of Masclet were received by the prisoners with the greatest interest.

After having had various conferences with Messrs. John Parish, the American consul, Auguste Masson, and Captain Archenholtz, and having provided myself with a large packet of important despatches, money, bills of exchange, and letters of credit to the amount of 200,000 Austrian florins, I set out from Hamburg in March, 1796. I had purchased a very elegant berlin, and my servant was faithful, clever, and discreet. My carriage was full of secret places, in which I concealed my numerous papers, my gold, my bills of exchange, and letters of credit; and John, who had served me from an early age, was initiated into all these mysteries, in order that he might be able to assist me in case of necessity.

But it was essentially requisite for me to change my costume and my name, because mine was too generally known throughout Germany. Sieveking and Archenholtz advised me to pass for a Swede, to assume another name and a title. They thought, that with these precautions, with a thorough knowledge of German, and something of Swedish, I would be able to extricate myself from any occasional dilemma.

On arriving at the gates of the town of Olmutz, the

officer of the guard subjected me to a more rigorous examination than I experienced at Prague. But seeing that my papers were perfectly accurate, and convinced, above all, by the sight of my brilliant equipage, he was satisfied with retaining my passport, dispensed with my going in person to the police, and treated me in all respects with marked civility. On arriving at the Three Swans, I was immediately surrounded by a crowd of inquisitive spectators, among whom I suspected there might be some spies of the police; and in order to get rid of their disagreeable society, I sent a messenger to the banker Hirsch, requesting him to come and receive an old and faithful friend, who was impatient to embrace him. The banker, greatly astonished, knowing nothing of my arrival, nor even that I meant to come, inquired of the servant, whom I had hired according to the custom of all strangers of distinction who travel in Germany, what was my name and former place of residence? to this the servant replied, that I was a baron; but that he did not know my name. Hirsch, who had a great deal of presence of mind, and who, as he afterwards told me, thought it probable that this request was in some way connected with the interests of the prisoners, asked no further questions, but immediately repaired to the hotel. I had taken a suite of three handsome apartments, of which the two first were left open, and the third, which I occupied, remained shut until the arrival of Hirsch, who was followed by my servants and the landlord. As soon as the banker was announced, I hastened to meet him, and embraced him with feelings of the liveliest gratitude for what he had already done for the prisoners, and of which I had been previously informed at Hamburg. At the same time, I whispered in his ear, "I am *Feldmann, the friend of Gilbert*; embrace me as you would an old acquaintance!" This was but the affair of an instant; and Hirsch, who immediately comprehended me, performed his part so well, that the spies were deceived, and imagined that we were really old and intimate friends. The landlord very respectfully desired to know my commands; and I requested him to bring us some seltzer water and sugar, with a bottle of the best Rhenish in his cellar, and afterwards to prepare a good supper for myself and my friend Hirsch, who agreed to

remain with me, as I was too much fatigued to go out. Being now left alone with him, confidence and friendship were speedily established between us. At supper, we arranged what account we were to give to those who might inquire, with respect to our old acquaintanceship and connexion in business. It was determined that I should pass for a rich merchant of Stockholm, who had been educated in Germany, and who was travelling partly for pleasure and partly to settle business of consequence with the house of Hirsch and others.

He then made me favorable representations of Passy and Kreutschke, and told me that M. and Madame de Lafayette and their children, as well as the other prisoners, were in tolerable health, and would be delighted to hear of my arrival, particularly Madame de Lafayette, who was in very low spirits, in consequence of not having heard, for some time past, of her son George, then in America, or of any of her friends who were abroad. I then told him, that I was the bearer of large packets both from America and from France, which contained information of the utmost importance to them, but that they were stowed away in the hiding places of my berlin, from which I could not procure them until the next day, because the carriage had been immediately sent to the coach-house. He then asked me if I could not give him a short note to send to the prisoners, the news of my arrival and my designs, which he would send the next morning to the surgeon: I accordingly wrote the following communication: "An old and true friend of your family, my dear general, and of your companions in misfortune, is just arrived within the walls of Olmutz. He is impatient to hear from you, and will contrive to put into your possession letters from many of your dearest friends, who, as well as your son George, are in perfect health. Preserve your courage, and depend, in all cases, as long as he lives, upon your warm and faithful friend,

P. FELDMANN."

Having folded and sealed this letter with all possible care, I gave it to Hirsch, who promised to convey it, the following morning, by means of the surgeon, to Madame de Lafayette, who was not as closely watched as her husband.

The astonishment and joy of the prisoners, in receiving such a letter, just at a time when they were beginning to despair, can be better imagined than described.

M. and Madame de Lafayette have since told me that, as they did not know me under my fictitious name, they exhausted themselves in conjecturing who this P. Feldmann could be.

Madame de Lafayette, whose imagination and quickness of comprehension had not suffered in the least, notwithstanding her melancholy situation and weak state of health, went into her daughters' room and wrote me these lines, which will never be effaced from my memory: "Whosoever you may be, my dear, generous M. Feldmann, who, in defiance of all dangers, have reached our miserable prison, accept, I entreat you, our warmest, our sincerest acknowledgments for all you have done. As M. de Lafayette has been obliged to give his word not to write to any one out of the prison, he regrets exceedingly that he is thus deprived of the pleasure of expressing, himself, the sensations the receipt of your letter created, and has charged me, on the part of himself and his daughters, to assure you of our gratitude and never failing attachment.

"NOAILLES LAFAYETTE."*

Madame de Lafayette, on putting her reply into the hands of the surgeon, who, while she was preparing it, was engaged, on some pretence for delay, with the general, endeavored to ascertain from the doctor, whether this Feldmann was tall or short, stout or slender, with other particulars of his exterior, in order to discover, if possible, who it could be; but as the doctor had not seen me yet, he could not gratify her curiosity.

The flute of Felix Pontonnier, who had received permission to visit his master, was soon heard by Messrs. Latour Maubourg and Bureau de Puzy, giving notice of the happy arrival of a friend. Let the reader for a moment imagine himself in the situation of these unhappy prisoners, and he will easily conceive the joy and surprise they experienced.

* General Lafayette is now here, and will not only confirm what I have stated, but will assure all who inquire, that in my four successive journeys to Olmutz, I received more than thirty letters from Madame de Lafayette, written from her prison, in 1796 and 1797.—[Note to the first edition.]

Very early in the morning, my faithful servant opened the coach-house, and got out all the packets, letters, money, &c., without being perceived by any one belonging to the house, and brought them safely to my chamber. I dined this day, by invitation, with Hirsch, where I met several strangers, to whom the banker introduced me, as his old and worthy friend the Baron de Feldmann.* Kreutschke presently arrived with the reply of Madame de Lafayette to my note; for Hirsch had told him the particulars and purposes of my journey, without letting him know, however, exactly who I was.

I leave the reader to conceive my sensations on the receipt of this information, and my impatience to read what a lady, whose high and exalted virtues I so much revered, had sent me in reply to my note. Hirsch gave me the paper secretly, so that no one observed him, and told me besides, how M. and Madame de Lafayette had interrogated the surgeon respecting my exterior, and how curious they were to know who this Mr. Feldmann could possibly be. Under the pretence of calling a servant, I arose, and went into an adjoining room; where I no sooner found myself alone, than, full of impatience and joy, I opened the precious note, and perused and re-perused it again and again. I at last endeavored to control my feelings, and concealing the paper with the utmost care, I returned to the parlor, and told M. Hirsch that it was absolutely necessary for the surgeon to devise some pretext for seeing the prisoners again in the course of that day; adding, that he might offer him, from me, a purse of one hundred ducats, as a reward for his zeal and fidelity, and as a proof that my friends and myself were very well satisfied with what he had done.†

On the previous evening, Hirsch and myself had agreed on the propriety of my conversing as little as possible with the friends of the prisoners whom I might meet in public, or at the house of the banker, in order to

* Hirsch absolutely insisted upon giving me this ridiculous title, contrary to my republican opinions and engagements.

† I believe I have already mentioned that I had full powers to dispose entirely of the very ample funds of which I was the bearer, as well as of those which Hirsch had previously received from the generous Americans, through the hands of their consul at Hamburg; not directly, but first from Sieveking, at Hamburg, and then from the Vienna banker, Oxa Geymuller, on whom I had another large letter of credit. These gentlemen were accountable to me for the funds in their hands.

avoid, as much as possible, the suspicions of the police. As I spoke German altogether, nobody questioned my disguise; and I remained ten days at Olmutz, unsuspected and undisturbed.

The hundred ducats produced their effect. The surgeon promised to visit the prisoners along with the jailer at two o'clock, the hour when their food was given to them, and told Hirsch that I must have all my papers in readiness. After breakfast, I feigned some slight indisposition, the effect, as I pretended, of my journey: and, according to my arrangements with Hirsch, I went to my lodgings, where I told my servants that I intended to shut myself up in my room to sleep, and was not at home to any but Hirsch, who would probably call about one o'clock. As my packets were too bulky to send all at once, I was obliged to divide them into three parcels, and first to prepare the one which was most interesting, in which I enclosed my actual name, accompanied by the request that it should not be mentioned in any of the letters that Madame de Lafayette might do me the honor to write.

Hirsch knocked at my door at the hour agreed upon, and I put into his hands the first of the parcels, carefully folded and sealed, but without superscription. In a long letter to Madame de Lafayette, I acquainted her with my intention to attempt the rescue of her husband, unless I were forbidden by the danger of destroying herself and her children; it being impossible to carry away the whole four. I assured her, that I was resolved to undergo all possible hazards, and only waited for their determination to act: but added, that two or three days, at least, should be devoted to deliberate reflection, before any thing decisive was attempted. I then informed her of the mode we had adopted to conduct the correspondence, and the fictitious names and situations in life of her new friends in Hamburg. In this packet I enclosed several sheets of very fine paper, with pens and pencils, &c. This I requested M. Hirsch to give to the surgeon, for Madame de Lafayette, along with the packet.

Hirsch, at the sight of the packet, drew back a few steps with surprise at the size of it. But I soon persuaded him to join his exertions with the surgeon's, to effect its conveyance; advising him, at the same time, not to

give Kreutschke the hundred ducats until I had received a reply from Madame de Lafayette, acknowledging the safe reception of the packet with all its contents, as I had described them. The promise of the gold, no doubt, quickened the invention and zeal of the doctor, who resorted to the following expedient: a few minutes before two o'clock, he went to the house of the jailer, whose wife was preparing the prisoners' food. I have already said that Kreutschke was very much liked by the soldiers and inhabitants generally, on account of his kind disposition and benevolent feelings. When he told the jailer, therefore, that he was going to examine personally the diet of the prisoners, particularly Madame de Lafayette's, and that he wished to ascertain whether her appetite had returned, no difficulty was made; and he went in along with the jailer. The officer of the guard expressed no surprise at this second visit; for the doctor, who knew him intimately, told him the same thing he had already told the jailer, and taking him apart, he gave him to understand that it was quite unnecessary to put down this visit in the daily report he made to the governor, as the officer did not generally think it necessary to make a note of his visits. He invited him, at the same time, to dine with him the next day; and the whole affair was arranged in the following manner:

As the guard stood before the door of Lafayette's cell, in the manner described in a former chapter, there were too many eyes upon the doctor, to allow him to pass to the general the two packets without being perceived; he, therefore, after feeling the pulses of M. and Madame de Lafayette, threw his eyes around him in all directions, as if to remark the moisture which every where oozed through the walls of their subterraneous prison, and then opened the door of an adjoining apartment, which was occupied by his daughters; and while the jailer was engaged in arranging the table, and stood with his back turned towards them, the surgeon made signs to Madame de Lafayette that he was going to hide something away for her. M. and Madame de Lafayette, who, as well as their daughters, began to suspect something unusual, watched him unobserved, and followed all his movements without leaving their places. The guards could not possibly perceive what was passing in the apartment

belonging to the young ladies, Anastasia and Virginia Lafayette, for it was on the right hand in coming in; whereas, the soldiers stood in the middle of the front of the general's prison.

Kreutschke, now entered the young ladies' room, saying aloud, that he wished to see whether the moisture penetrated there, as it did in their father's. Then instantly raising the straw bed, he thrust the two parcels underneath, and returning into the general's prison, he very calmly remarked to the officer of the guard, that the young ladies' room was not quite so moist as the other.

Madame de Lafayette, whose sight was as quick as her imagination was lively, changed color on seeing the doctor's manœuvres with these two packets; but Kreustchke made signs to her, and she soon recovered her composure. Gen. Lafayette and his two daughters had observed all that passed, but did not so plainly betray their sensations, as Madame de Lafayette, whose control, nevertheless, over her excitable imagination, cannot be sufficiently admired; particularly, as she was weakened by her sufferings, and the violent pains of a rheumatism, which, no doubt, occasioned her premature death, so deeply lamented by all her acquaintance. In the course of the evening, I saw the banker again, and he gave me an exact account of the doctor's visit, adding, that he would certainly bring me, the next day, a letter from Madame de Lafayette.

On my first journey to Olmutz, I was bearer of letters and packets of much importance, and which required of the prisoners so many precautions, and so much time, that I availed myself of two or three days' leisure, and requested M. Hirsch to take me in his carriage to visit the spot where Gen. Lafayette had mounted on horseback behind Bollmann, the barn where he was arrested, and Braunseiffen, where he was delivered up. This journey corresponded perfectly well with the character M. Hirsch had given me, of a rich Swedish merchant, who visited Austria and Silesia, for the purpose of purchasing large quantities of linens, and other manufactures of the country, which were intended to be forwarded to Stockholm, by the way of Hamburg.

I received from Madame de Lafayette, among other

communications, the result of a family consultation upon my proposition to attempt the liberation of the general, in which they thanked me warmly, for all I had done and wished to do, but at the same time said, they preferred remaining together in prison, and awaiting tranquilly the result, than to endanger, for the welfare of one member, the happiness of the whole family: that the general had strongly opposed my proposition, "because," said he, "when Messrs. Bollmann and Huger made the attempt to liberate me, I was alone; of course, no one was exposed on my account; but now my escape must necessarily involve the safety of Madame de Lafayette and our daughters."

I could not but yield to the force of these arguments, nor help expressing to Madame de Lafayette my admiration of the heroism and noble disinterestedness of the general. In another letter, she inclosed me an introduction to Professor Passy, whom she requested me to visit, and of whom she spoke in the highest terms. I accordingly went to see the professor almost every evening in the week; but for fear of exciting suspicion, he never came to my lodgings, nor to the house of M. Hirsch, except in the day time.

I made an excursion of a few days, and returned again to Olmutz.

CHAPTER XXIV.

The author's journey to Vienna with Col. Victor Latour Maubourg—Bonaparte sends Col. Romœuff to Vienna, and the success of his mission.

COLONEL Victor Latour Maubourg, brother of the prisoner, Gen. Maubourg, went to Hamburg, where he heard of my commission. He was desirous to join me, and I received, accordingly, a letter from him, stating how matters stood with his sister-in-law, and urging an interview, which could not take place at Olmutz, nor in any of the Austrian domains.

In order to avoid the least suspicion, the banker Hirsch

advised me to pretend that I travelled for mercantile purposes, and to visit the great linen manufactories of Moravia, and the thriving places of Schweidnitz, Hirschberg, Schmiedeberg, &c., in Prussian Silesia. I had established my line of private couriers so well, that not a single letter had been lost. All my correspondence with Hamburg, where the letters for the prisoners or for me, from the rest of Germany, America, France, and England, were sent, under the cover of said Hirsch, to Olmutz. Hirsch knew exactly where I was to be found, or when I should return to Olmutz, so that all these letters and parcels reached me safely, wherever I was. Having received from Gen. Lafayette and the two other prisoners, a full and peremptory power to open their letters, I made many times but short extracts from them, and destroyed the rest, of small and indifferent matters, so as to be able to pass them to the prisoners in as small a size as possible, through the usual channel, opened as stated elsewhere.

When I received, among others, Col. Victor Maubourg's letter, I was at Warmbrunn, near Schweidnitz in Silesia, and having a great many letters of introduction throughout Silesia, Bohemia, Moravia, and Lusacia, to powerful and wealthy persons, I found everywhere excellent and hearty *friends*, so styled, because I arrived as a Swedish baron! in a fine coach with four horses, servants, &c., which made them suppose I was wealthy, and in want of nothing.

It was, therefore, very easy for me to despatch a courier to Hamburg and request Col. Maubourg to join me at the beautiful chateau of Croshw—, near the Silesian fortress of Schweidnitz, whose owner, the Count of Schaafg—, was my *friend*, in the above sense of the term. This very wealthy man hated the French cordially, and detested particularly Lafayette, as the author of all the mischief done during the revolution! I think it is useless to say that none of these soi-disant friends knew my true character, and far less my mission. I had at various times opportunity to use all my self-possession, to cover him with ridicule, when, heated at table, he made vehement sallies. But for the rest, he was a noble hearted, generous, benevolent, well-informed man, in whose chateau I found always the most select compa-

ny. Here it was that I became acquainted with the famous German philologist and poet, John Henry Voss, who arrived at Croschw——, on his pedestrian tour. He pierced a legion of elegant lacquies and penetrated into our large saloon, in spite of these servants, who thought he was a beggar. We were in the midst of an interesting conversation, when he traversed the range of open apartments and came directly upon us. Who of you is the Count of Schaaf——, I wish to have the honor to become acquainted with him. We saw a man with dusty shoes and stockings, and a shabby coat and clothes, a bundle under his arm, standing right before us who were seated. The count, a little perplexed, stood up, and asked what he wanted? He replied, "My name, sir, is John H. Voss, I want a little rest, and to become acquainted with you, sir count." This name acted like a talisman, and he remained a fortnight with us. Thus act the Germans in general; they honor and respect true talents and merit, without inquiring in relation to a man's dress or property, as we unhappily do in America.

Col. Victor Latour Maubourg joined me with his nephew Florimond, eldest son of the prisoner, now French ambassador at Brussels, at the appointed chateau. Both were received by the count with the greatest hospitality. As I had gained powerful friends during my frequent stays at Olmutz, I soon found an opportunity of introducing them into this fortress. I have already related my having been happy enough to correspond with the prisoners; and thus they were soon acquainted, and highly pleased with the arrival of these two friends.

After having received our letters, in which we suggested the idea of directing our steps towards the victorious commander of the French army in Italy, as the only source of a speedy and efficient relief, the prisoners approved our views so far as to advise us to go to Vienna, and to make previously a last effort to obtain an audience from the Emperor Francis, and to claim from him an order for the immediate release of the prisoners. To consult first, however, the powerful friends of Madame de Lafayette at Vienna; and then, if all should be vain, the two Maubourgs should start for Italy, and I, as of greater utility near them, should return to Olmutz, as usual.

After the unhappy but highly honorable attempt of Col. Huger and Doct. Bollmann, to liberate Lafayette from prison, the latter, as before stated, had been obliged to give his word of honor, not to write a single letter during his now more rigorous confinement; Madame de Lafayette, although sick and suffering, undertook, with an heroic courage, to be his secretary; and thus many letters were directed to her, and answered by this highly gifted lady. We perused the letters, being all open, which Madame de Lafayette had sent us, among which was one to Gen. Bonaparte, brief but eloquent, another to Gen. Alexander Berthier, a third to the emperor Francis II., in which she depicted in strong words the wretched situation of her husband, and urged his immediate release, as having never offended his majesty. This letter was to be delivered by us in person. The others were letters of introduction to her friends at Vienna. As soon as we had perused them, I wrote to Madame de Lafayette that we would depart as soon as the gates of the fortress should be opened the next morning, and travel day and night towards Vienna.

When we arrived at this beautiful capital, we soon learned from the friends of Madame de Lafayette how difficult or rather impossible it would be to penetrate into the presence of the emperor. The triumvirate, (the deceased empress and the two ministers, Thugut and Saurau, the deadly foes of Lafayette,) since the audience obtained by Madame de Lafayette from the emperor, without their consent and even without their knowledge, were afraid of a new attempt to approach the weak and imbecile Francis, who acted solely by the dictates of the triumvirate. Since then they surrounded the emperor with so many spies, and his steps were so closely watched, it was impossible, even for these zealous and powerful friends of Madame de Lafayette, to obtain from him a private audience.

Having in vain employed every expedient to gain an interview with the emperor, it was settled that the two Maubourgs should depart for Italy, and myself for Olmutz. When I gave an account of what had transpired to Madame de Lafayette, she wrote me an excellent letter, in which herself, the general, and her two daughters, Anastasia and Virginia, expressed their high satisfaction

and great hope of a speedy release from that Austrian hell, (*cet enfer Autrichien*,) by the journey of the two Latour Maubourgs.

I found at Olmutz letters from Madame de Latour Maubourg, and Madame Bureau de Puzy, spouses of the two other prisoners. As they had other passports under their own names, they were stopped at Dresden, and the Austrian government refused the necessary passports, to penetrate into the fortress of Olmutz, where they intended to go. Upon the invitation of Madame de Lafayette and their imprisoned husbands, I went to see them, and was received as an old friend by both families, who lived in the same house. I remained but a few days with them and returned to Olmutz.

At that time, (1796,) Gen. Bonaparte had protected and received several French officers, who, during the reign of terror, had been placed on the list of emigrants, and had not yet been erased by the directory. Among them were the two brothers Lewis and Alexander Romoeuff, *ex-aids-de-camp* of Gen. Lafayette. Bonaparte received them well, and placed them both in his staff, and in their former rank as lieutenant-colonels.

Col. Victor Latour Maubourg and his nephew found Gen. Bonaparte at the beautiful chateau of Montebello. He had a long conversation with Gen. Alexander Berthier, chief of the staff of the French army of Italy, and an old friend of the prisoners. Berthier highly approved of his proposal, and introduced them immediately to Bonaparte, who received both with kindness. When Bonaparte had read the short letter addressed to him by Madame de Lafayette, he exclaimed, greatly pleased, "What a woman! how eloquent in a few words! Well, well, Monsieur de Maubourg, assure her, on my part, I will do my best to relieve them soon from all their long and undeserved sufferings!" He spoke of the injustice done to these highly distinguished men, for whom he felt the sincerest esteem; and he added, "if my request is not attended to, I shall find the proper means to force the emperor to grant it."

He offered very kindly to Victor Latour Maubourg to strike him from the list of emigrants and give him his former rank of colonel of cavalry. Maubourg readily

accepted the first, but declined serving for the present, stating frankly his wish to remain free from any duty; as long as the prisoners were at Olmutz, so that he might be able to devote all his time to their service. "Well, well," said Bonaparte, smiling, "you are right, I would act in your place exactly so; I hope you will not long remain a volunteer in our army. But at all events, come with us to Leoben, and remain, during your stay, at my head-quarters."

Some days after this conversation, Bonaparte sent a courier to the Archduke Charles, the commander of the Austrian army in Italy, and wrote to him in urgent and strong terms, demanding the immediate release of the three Olmutz prisoners. The archduke answered, that it was wholly out of his power to grant personally his (Bonaparte's) request: but highly flattered by this mark of confidence, he (the prince) would show him how anxious he was to oblige him, and that he had despatched immediately his (Bonaparte's) letter, with another from himself, in which he urged the emperor, his brother, to grant the demand, and that he had not the least doubt of its success.

Bonaparte showed this answer to Latour Maubourg; and, highly pleased with its contents, he said to him: "I hope you will soon see your brother and friends out of the reach of the Austrian claws."

I received an express from Col. Victor Latour Maubourg, when at Carlsbad, in Bohemia, with these happy tidings; but a few days afterwards a friend, well informed of what passed in the Austrian cabinet, wrote to me from Vienna, that the triumvirate had intercepted the courier of the Archduke, and had opened the letters and destroyed them! So the prisoners remained in their dungeons.

This will appear not at all astonishing, when the reader peruses what I have heretofore said of the power of the triumvirate at that time, and of the perfect nullity of this crowned knave.

I immediately sent this sad intelligence to Col. Victor Latour Maubourg, who had several conversations with Gen. Berthier upon the subject. But such were the pressing events of the campaign, the bustle and the con-

tual occupations, marches, battles, and movements of the army, that Berthier could scarcely speak with Bonaparte on the subject.

Gen. Bonaparte's victorious army was ready to penetrate into the heart of the Austrian empire, and its capital was menaced, when on a sudden he proposed to negotiate for peace and a suspension of hostilities, which was readily accepted. The Austrian plenipotentiaries, Counts Cobentzel and Merveld, the Baron Degelman, and the Marquis de Gallo, in whose Jesuitical talents the triumvirate placed the greatest confidence, were proposed to the emperor, who accepted and sent them to the French head-quarters. These four devoted creatures of the triumvirate, received secret instructions from the prime minister, Baron de Thugut, "to delay, as much as possible, the conclusion of the treaty."

When the bustle of a very active campaign had subsided, Col. Victor Latour Maubourg at last succeeded in reminding Berthier of the sad situation of the prisoners, and the secret machinations of the triumvirate, and requested him to prevail on the general-in-chief to name Lieut. Col. Lewis Romoeuff as a proper person to be sent expressly in behalf of the prisoners to Vienna, and to demand them of the emperor; and above all, to authorize him to come to Olmutz, and to remain there until he had seen them free and out of danger. This happy idea was given him by Madame de Lafayette, after having consulted her husband. I sent this letter by an express to Maubourg. Gen. Berthier approved highly of the plan, and spoke with Bonaparte; and, two days after, Lieut. Col. Romoeuff was sent, as his aid-de-camp, with a letter to the Archduke Charles, requesting him to facilitate the bearer in his mission to Vienna. He gave Romoeuff a second letter to the emperor, urging him to give up the prisoners in Romoeuff's presence; threatening to march at the head of his army towards Vienna and to come to deliver them in person, in case of any delay or refusal.

The Archduke Charles sent Romoeuff, as a parliamentary officer, to Vienna. The triumvirate, perplexed at the unexpected arrival of this officer, and dreading the fatal consequences of an interview with the emperor, manœuvred so well, that Romoeuff never could obtain an

audience. The Prince Cobentzel, brother of the count, one of the Austrian plenipotentiaries at Leoben, minister of war, fearing much to displease the empress, received colonel Romoeuff in his palace; and having been warned through Thugut to watch carefully lest the *cursed Frenchman* (as he elegantly expressed himself) should communicate with some one, and above all, should pass a note or letter to the emperor, he was lodged on the ground floor, of which all the rooms had strong iron bars before every window. And under the specious pretext of guarding him against any insult from the people, he received a strong guard before his door; and an Austrian officer, a major of hussars, was lodged with him, and had the severest injunctions to watch all his movements, and to follow him as his shadow. This officer established his apartments at the entry and the rest of the rooms allowed to Romoeuff, so that not a living soul could penetrate in these rooms, without being seen by the guard, the baron or his servants. Under the same pretence of insult, Romoeuff could never take a walk or pay any visit, but in a coach, and accompanied by the major, who was the devoted slave of the triumvirate.

As soon as the friends of Madame de Lafayette heard that the citizen Lewis (the name which Romoeuff had taken in coming to Vienna) was an ex-aid-de-camp of Gen. Lafayette, sent by Bonaparte, whom they knew to be friendly to the prisoner, they tried every means to correspond in secret with him, and to inform him of the machinations of the triumvirate. And after various useless attempts, they succeeded, by the activity and intelligence of a French *barber*! The latter came every morning to shave Col. Romoeuff, and in doing this he adroitly slipped into his hands the letters and notes, without any of the Argus-es having the least suspicion. Thus he was soon informed of what passed. Romoeuff had already had several conferences with Prince Cobentzel, minister of war, and the minister of state, Baron Thugut. The latter received him with a cold and polite air, and assured him, in the name of the emperor, that the order had been already sent to Olmutz to set the prisoners at liberty. But as Romoeuff, after a few days of his stay at Vienna, was now positively informed of the secret intentions of the triumvirate to extend the captivity of Lafayette and his

associates as long as possible, he justly doubted the truth of these assurances and insisted on being, in person, the bearer of the order for their deliverance, and requested that the minister should give him an order with which he would depart immediately for Olmutz.

The Baron de Thugut, a very haughty and proud man, said to him, in an angry and high tone, "How is this ? Mr. Aid-de-camp, should he doubt the word and assurance of his imperial majesty, my gracious master ?" "Not in the least, I assure your excellency ; but as the positive instructions of my general are not to leave the Austrian territory until I have seen with my own eyes the deliverance of these prisoners, it is my duty to obey my orders. Besides, I request your excellency to introduce me to his majesty the emperor ; this is my second order." At this speech Thugut grew pale, and said to him in a softer tone : "As his majesty the emperor was unwell, he would receive nobody ; (the same answer was given him at his arrival ;) but he would hand him to-morrow morning a second order of his imperial majesty, to set the prisoners at liberty, of which he should be the bearer : " and assigned the hour of ten o'clock the next morning.

That day the barber arrived at the usual hour, and handed him, among other notes, the following :

"The general of artillery, Marquis de Chasteler, departed for Olmutz, this morning, at half past eight, in a secret and hasty manner ; his mission concerns the prisoners ; and without being able to penetrate through this mysterious movement, we think it to be of dark omen. Urge the order of their deliverance, which is indispensable to have to-day, and depart with it *without losing a minute*, so as to be able to reach the marquis on the road, and to enter with him into Olmutz. He will have but one hour and a half advance of you, and you are certain to reach him, having so well arranged every thing for you, that the marquis shall not find the usual promptness in the relay of post-horses, while yours are chosen and already commanded in advance."

This note was neither signed, nor written in the usual handwriting of the former ; but Romoeuff and we all could easily presume from whence it came. (It was the Prince of Rosemberg, a friend of Madame de Lafayette.)

Before Romoeuff went to the minister, he made every thing ready to depart, and was at the Baron Thugut's hotel precisely at ten o'clock, who appeared after a quarter of an hour, and without the promised order. He saluted Romoeuff with an unusually gracious air, apologized for having kept him in waiting so long; saying, "that the indisposition of the emperor was grown so serious as to unfit him for signing the promised order." Romoeuff, now perfectly convinced of the truth stated in the note, and really alarmed, drew out his watch and declared, "that in ten minutes, if he had not the promised order, he would leave Vienna, and rejoin his general, who would soon find the means to fetch it at the head of his army."*

Thugut, at first perplexed, tried, nevertheless, to menace him with the displeasure of the emperor; but the other put his watch coolly upon the table, before the minister, and then told him, "to look well what time it was, and that, after the expiration of ten minutes, he should ask for his passport and depart. I fear not the displeasure of his majesty the emperor, whom I have never offended, and still less your menaces, Baron de Thugut. I am the bearer of the orders of my general, and must do my duty. I know perfectly well, that I am entirely in your power; you can arrest me and put me in a dungeon; but remember well," said he, in a more solemn manner, "remember well one circumstance, Monsieur Baron de Thugut, the eyes of the French army in Italy are fixed upon you and me; and any harm done, any insult offered to me, as a parliamentary officer and the representative of our general-in-chief, would soon be known by him and fully avenged!"

This firm and manly reply silenced the haughty and

* When the French directory heard of the lively interest which Bonaparte took in the fate of the Olmutz prisoners, it was anxious to please him, although secretly dissatisfied and alarmed at his brilliant successes and his increasing power. Gen. Clarke, better known as Duke de Feltre, was sent to the French head-quarters as a commissary of the directory, to assist Gen. Bonaparte in negotiating the deliverance of the Olmutz prisoners and the treaty of peace. This was his open mission; but his secret and true one was, to spy the conduct of Bonaparte, and to give secret information to the directory of what might have appeared suspicious. But Clarke, who soon remarked that Bonaparte was well informed of his secret mission, was so condescending and so pliant towards the already rising star of the absolute young commander, that the latter, from this time, honored him with his affection, and lavished on him, afterwards, wealth, dignities and honor, although Clarke had done no *action d'éclat*, by which he deserved his grandeur. We can truly say of him, he was a soldier by name, a general without bravery, a duke by power, wealthy by plunder, and minister of war by slavery.

base minister, who rose up, went into the next room and brought him a sealed order, addressed to the governor of Olmutz, Baron de Schroeter. It struck Romoeuff that there might be concealed some mischievous deed, and turning the letter, as if he would break the seal, the minister snatched it hastily out of his hands, and said in an angry tone, "How, then, Mr. Aid-de-camp, would you dare to break this letter open?" "Sir, I would not only *dare* to break the seal, but would *do* it; my instructions, Monsieur Baron de Thugut, are to be the bearer of an open and plain order to deliver the prisoners, and to see them with my own eyes free and at liberty! You have five minutes: detain me not any longer, I request you, earnestly, and I make you, sir, responsible for the consequences."

Romoeuff told us that Thugut reddened like a peacock, went a second time with the sealed order into the next room, and came, at last, with an open order, duly signed, which he handed to Romoeuff, saying, half smiling, half scornfully, "Here, sir, is your order." Romoeuff, after having read it attentively, was satisfied, took a very cool leave of Thugut, and drove towards his hotel, where every thing was ready for his journey to Olmutz. But Romoeuff was obliged to receive the same major of hussars, Baron de Auerhammer, as a travelling companion, and departed. He was so well served at the relays upon the road, and drove so fast, that he overtook the Marquis de Chasteler a little before arriving at Brunn, the capital of Moravia. They travelled and arrived both together at Olmutz.

I had received, previously, the happy news of Col. Romoeuff's mission from himself and Victor Latour Maubourg, by expresses, which reached me at Breslaw. I went to Olmutz, and joyfully communicated to the prisoners this great and highly pleasing event.

CHAPTER XXV.

*Liberation of the family of Lafayette, Latour Maubourg and Bureau de Puzy—
The author's journey, with the prisoners, from Olmutz to Hamburg.*

THE 25th of August, 1797, the Marquis Gen. de Chasteler arrived with the Col. Lewis Romoeuff, at Olmutz, and declared the prisoners free and set at liberty. The triumvirate, sworn enemies of Lafayette, enraged at being compelled to yield to the iron will of the Commander Bonaparte, strongly supported by the mission of Romoeuff to Vienna, had suggested to the childish emperor the imposing previously certain conditions upon the prisoners, before they should be set at liberty. The Marquis de Chasteler was, therefore, the bearer of some articles drawn up by the triumvirate, and signed by the emperor, which Lafayette should sign before he was to be declared at liberty. A similar instrument was submitted to Gen. Latour Maubourg and Bureau de Puzy.

Gen. Lafayette, his two companions, and two faithful servants of the former, who had suffered cruelly during five years, in the various dungeons of Prussia and Austria; Madame de Lafayette and her two daughters, who had generously consented to be locked up with the general, and share with him, during twenty-two months, every kind of hardship at Olmutz, rather than to be again separated from him; were at last permitted to leave their horrid dungeon, and to breathe again the pure air of heaven.

It is impossible to describe our mutual excitement and pleasure at this interesting meeting, which was such that the Austrian officers were electrified, and partook readily in our joy. I observed, in one of the groups, a pale, thin man, with harsh features, but elegantly dressed, who stood like a statue, in a corner, and looked on us with insurpassable sternness, without uttering one single word. This man came with the Marquis de Chasteler from Vienna, and was treated by him with great respect, and addressed with the title of monsieur le comte, (Mr. Count.) His replies were short and dry. Nobody could, or rather would tell us his name or his office. It appears that he was sent by the triumvirate to act as a spy, and that he

had secret orders to accompany us as far as Hamburg, which he did. We heard afterwards that he was a spy of the triumvirate.

We dined the same evening, *en famille*, at the hotel of the Drey Schwanen, at Olmutz. This dinner, and the manner in which the prisoners ate their victuals, excited a continual merriment among us all. As they were, during their captivity, deprived of forks and knives, they had contracted the habit of eating their meat with a spoon and the fingers; and having now the use of fork and knife, they committed every moment some blunder which excited a general laugh. It was only after some days of travelling that they were able to eat in the usual way.

As Col. Romoeuff was obliged to return to Italy, I, being the only officer who spoke German, was appointed their quarter-master-general, and directed them on their road. Major Baron Auerhammer was commissioned by the emperor to accompany the ex-prisoners to Hamburg, to present them to the Austrian ambassador, Baron Buel de Schauenstein, and I was to be the witness of this act on the part of the French government, named formally to this effect by the French directory.

The next day (26th of August) in the morning, all was ready for our departure. But as I perceived that Madame de Lafayette was suffering excruciating pains, the sad consequences of her long and cruel confinement, I advised her, therefore, to travel but a few miles, and if she was unable to endure the fatigues of a long journey, I even offered to go to the governor, Baron de Schroeter, to obtain permission for our stay at the hotel one or two days longer. "Oh no, no, my dear friend, I would not stay a minute longer in this horrid fortress: let us depart, let us depart." The imagination of Madame de Lafayette was extremely quick and lively, and, in spite of her great sufferings, she was very sprightly and gay: never did I hear a single complaint, never did I witness a single sign of ill humor, although we were about twenty days on our journey, during the greater part of which I travelled, by her request, in her own coach, with the general and her two daughters.

Gen. Lafayette and his companions wished, like Madame de Lafayette, to pass the Austrian frontiers as quick as possible; fearing, like myself, that a counter order

might arrive from Vienna, and put them again in confinement. This fear was increased by the following circumstance: I had sent a courier in advance, to prepare and order thirty-four post-horses, at each station or relay, as our retinue was numerous, so that we might not be detained a single minute. I had alighted to speak with the post-master, when the Baron Auerhammer took me aside, and said that his friend, the count, wished to see me for a few minutes privately in the garden. I had not taken the least notice of him since I saw him in the dungeon, and was therefore much surprised, and, I confess, even anxious to know what this suspicious personage had to say to me. "His imperial majesty, my gracious sovereign, has charged me, particularly, said he, with a courteous but dry tone, to see that neither Gen. Lafayette nor any of your friends, are permitted to speak or to communicate *too freely* with any of his imperial majesty's faithful subjects, in those places of his dominions through which we have to pass. And as you are a gentleman of honor and their friend, I have taken the liberty to give you this good natured hint." I assured him, smiling, that his imperial majesty's wishes were in perfect accordance with those of Gen. Lafayette, his family and his friends; that he had nothing to fear from a *too free* communication with his imperial majesty's faithful subjects, although I did not, and wished not to understand what he meant by the expression of a *too free* communication with the inhabitants. "But," I added, with my usual frank military warmth, "I have not the least wish to know who you are, sir; I see you are a German nobleman, and, as such, I trust in your honor and uprightness, that you will readily assist us to hasten our journey, and to send a courier in *your* name, at our expense, to have the post-horses ready with more expedition, as your emperor's authority is a little greater than ours." He laughed, gave me his hand, and immediately agreed to send one of his valets as a courier.

When I related this conversation to my friends, they were highly pleased with it, as the best proof that there was not the least intention to detain them any longer; they feared them, and wished to get rid of us. At the next Austrian post-house, we were so promptly served, that we had scarcely time to hand refreshments to the

ladies. Every thing went on as by magic, so that I was often obliged to tell the drivers of the first coach, which was that of Gen. Lafayette, not to drive so fast, as I saw that Madame de Lafayette was suffering greatly by the motion, although the roads were excellent and the coach very commodious.

But a new alarm awaited us at Brunn. The unknown count had remained silent and reserved during all the route. At the gates of this capital we were stopped by the officer of the guard, and asked for our passports. They were all retained and handed to the corporal. Scarcely was this done, when we saw the Baron Auerhammer taking the officer aside, and conducting him towards the sixth carriage, which was the last, and belonged to the unknown. Curious and anxious to see what was going on, I alighted, but remained near my friends, who were as perplexed as myself. This uneasiness was well-founded: we saw, at a little distance from Brunn, upon a high rock, the well known horrid Spielberg, one of the Austrian state prisons, the tomb of so many Austrian Lafayettes. I, for myself, had nothing to fear, but I felt a heavy foreboding for my poor friends, when I observed that the unknown in his carriage spoke with the officer, who stood before the door with his hat in his hand, listening to him in a very respectful manner. My apprehensions were much increased, when the major advanced towards me, and requested an interview with the count. I told my friends to remain quiet; I would join them in a few minutes. When going, I heard Madame de Lafayette exclaim: "Ah mon Dieu! mon Dieu!" As soon as the count saw me approaching with the major, he alighted, saluted me in a very friendly manner, extending his hand and saying: "I hope you are satisfied with me; have I not kept my word?" and without waiting for my answer, he added; "Your friends must be very tired, and some little rest will do them good; you will, therefore, excuse me for having ordered a good dinner to be prepared for you, at our best hotel, during which I will transact some business here, by order of my gracious sovereign and master. Wait not for me; in two hours the carriages shall be ready; and if I should not be there, never mind; you will permit my friend Auerhammer to use your carriage until I have joined you

on the road. I hope this arrangement will be agreeable to you and your friends?" What could I say? what could I do? Exactly what any one would do when he is in the power of a wolf. Without, therefore, showing him any fear or mistrust, I approved every thing, and readily granted him the use of my carriage. He was satisfied, and drove off with the major.

I joined my friends; and as soon as I entered the carriage, we all drove to the hotel, where every thing was in fine order. Here we held a council of war, and, really fearing some treachery, it was determined that, if they were again arrested, I should find my way to the French army of Italy, and immediately acquaint Gen. Bonaparte with what had happened. I had gold, my Swedish passport as Baron Feldmann, spoke the German as my mother tongue, and could easily gain the Saxon or Prussian frontier, (Silesia,) and I possessed, besides, a trustful and intelligent servant, who, in case of need, was ready to risk his life. This, and the assurance which I gave them, in a positive manner, acquired by my own experience, that the greater part of the Germans, and even the Austrians, greatly admired Gen. Lafayette and his friends, and would, therefore, readily assist me in my journey, appeased, in some degree, their apprehensions.

We sat down, as cheerfully as possible, to a very elegant dinner, at which neither the major nor the count appeared. We expected every moment some bad news, but all was quiet, and the servants were busy, attentive, and respectful. A little before the expiration of the two hours, the carriage drove up to the door, and the major alone appeared. He took my arm, and said to me in German, that his friend the count requested me to excuse him, and that he (the major) accepted my carriage, until the count could join us. We drove out of the city of Brunn, but our apprehensions could not so readily subside. The count joined us at the next post-house, thanked me warmly for the confidence placed in him, and the use of my carriage for his friend. But with all this we were not quieted, until we reached in safety Peterswalde, the frontier custom-house, and an Austrian military post, which separates the former country from Saxony.

A station before we arrived at Bautzen, the fine capital

of Lusatia, I insisted on travelling by short journeys, as Madame de Lafayette's health was much impaired by our day and night travel, and above all by the continual anxiety of her mind. She could not walk, and was obliged to be carried in an arm-chair from one place to another, the fatal consequences of the cruel and barbarous treatment received from the Austrian government. I succeeded at last; our friends having joined me in urging Madame de Lafayette to consent to our new arrangement, viz: to travel at a slow rate and to rest during the night.

As soon as the prisoners were set at liberty, they wrote from Olmutz to their families detained at Dresden, as I have stated, to come to join us in the fine city of Bautzen, where we found them expecting us. This was a new family festival, impossible to describe, and not to be known but by those who have experienced a similar severe and extraordinary trial. Our family was thus considerably increased, with Madame de Latour Maubourg, wife of the General prisoner, her two fine daughters and two younger sons; Madame Bureau de Puzy with her daughter Sarah, Victor and Florimond Latour Maubourg, who came from Italy, and Col. Pillet, ex-aid-de-camp of Gen. Lafayette, and M. de Raynevall, now French ambassador at Madrid. We remained two days at Bautzen, where Madame de Lafayette found herself much improved.

When we arrived at Dresden, our carriages were surrounded with a crowd of people, curious to see Lafayette and his companions, so that we could scarcely pass. This appeared to alarm Madame de Lafayette; but when I explained to her the cause of this crowd, she smiled and said: "Oh, how good, how kind are your German people."

Madame de Lafayette's health grew worse, and rendered a longer stay in this capital absolutely necessary, although every one was anxious to proceed. Towards evening, Lafayette received a visit from a gentleman, who came to announce to him, that the Austrian ambassador residing at this court, (the then elector of Saxony,) requested him (Lafayette) to depart the next day at day break, because, added he, the ambassador feared the presence of Gen. Lafayette at Dresden might cause disturbances there. Lafayette, justly offended with this ridiculous request, asked him who he was, and what was his name? and after declining to answer these questions, the general replied,

very drily, "Being on neutral ground, he was neither obliged to follow the advice of the Austrian ambassador, nor to receive orders but from the elector of Saxony, whom he knew to be too humane to wish that Madame de Lafayette should depart in her present suffering state of health!" The general sent me and Col. Pillet to the hotel of the Count de Eltze, the Austrian ambassador then residing at Dresden, who received us very politely. I was not a little surprised to meet the same mysterious count (our spy) with the ambassador in close conversation.

As soon as this vile instrument of the triumvirate saw us enter, he withdrew, and we found ourselves alone with the ambassador. I asked the latter, in the name of Gen. Lafayette, if he had sent a person who would not declare either his name nor rank, with a request for him to depart next day? The ambassador, without answering directly my question, appeared a little confused, and confessed that, "the great concourse of people continually coming to our hotel, (which was true,) had made him fear a too dangerous excitement amongst the inhabitants of Dresden!" I asked him, smiling, "of what nature he thought was this dangerous excitement. Are the Saxons, then, living, like the Austrians, under an arbitrary government? are they not happy and perfectly satisfied with the liberal and enlightened administration under their good and humane sovereign? And besides, Monsieur Ambassador, what fear can a handful of travellers inspire, compelled, contrary to their anxious wishes, to stay some days in a neutral land, from the impaired state of health of Madame de Lafayette, unable to suffer the movements of a carriage. But I can assure your excellency, that the general has not sent us to ask any permission from you to stay as long as convenient, but merely to assure your excellency, personally to put your mind at ease about the dreaded consequences of our stay, and particularly to express to you the high esteem he has formed for your private character and worth, of which we are all well informed." In fact, this Count de Eltze was a very amiable, enlightened and accomplished gentleman; he was so well pleased with our call, that he took my hand and requested us to wait a little, wishing to accompany us to pay his respects to the ladies and the general. He remained a good half hour, and left at his

departure a favorable impression upon the minds of every one of us, by his easy and gentlemanly manners. Madame de Lafayette said, "if all Austrian rulers were like Count de Eltze, we would never have been locked up as we have been."

Amongst the crowd of visitors who came to call on the illustrious prisoners, were many distinguished Polish families, a sister and brother-in-law of Kosciusko, who all were anxious to present their unfeigned respect and admiration, as they said to me, first to Madame de Lafayette, for her heroic and great character, of which they were incessantly speaking. A young Saxon nobleman, the Count Schomberg, a descendant of the famous French marshal, was so anxious to pay his respects to Madame de Lafayette, that when I introduced him to her, he threw himself before her on his knees, and respectfully kissed her hand, without being able to speak a single word. Madame de Lafayette, much surprized, said to him with her wonted quickness, "Eh, mon Dieu! Monsieur, what are you doing, rise, rise, I conjure you, I am not a goddess!" The young man, a little perplexed, rose and was retiring, when Madame de Lafayette, observing his chagrin, and repenting (as she told me afterwards) of her quickness, told her younger daughter, Virginia, who sat at her side, to stand up and give her chair to this young gentleman. She then conversed a good while with him, with that sweetness and amiability so characteristic of her; and the young count left her, entirely enchanted at his reception. I saw him many years after, and the impression of that meeting was still very strongly engrained on his heart.

Before we arrived at Leipzig, I heard that the great semi-annual fair had assembled an unusual concourse of strangers, and that all the public houses were much crowded. As I feared we might not find the number of rooms necessary for our very large family, I proposed to go in advance, and to see beforehand what could be done. My offer was readily accepted. I drove up to the best hotel, alighted, and spoke with the landlord in presence of some six or eight gentlemen, asking him if a dozen of his best rooms could be procured for a large number of travellers. One of them asked me if it was for Gen. Lafayette, whom he understood was to arrive soon. Scarcely had

I confirmed this news, when he and a great many others cordially shook hands with me, and requested me to wait a little while. They took the landlord aside and persuaded him to let me have the rooms which they occupied with their families, and thus all was soon ready for the travellers.

When I related this unexpected kindness, every one of my friends, and particularly Monsieur and Madame de Lafayette, were highly pleased. It is useless to say how these gentlemen and their families were received by us all.

Our arrival at the Prussian university of Halle, was one of the kindest and most triumphant events for the feelings of Gen. Lafayette. As I had studied at this University, I went in the evening to my old friend and professor, Eberhard, to visit him and his family. Scarcely had I been there half an hour, when we heard a great noise in the street and a loud knocking at the front door. In came a dozen of the students, deputed by their companions to welcome me heartily, and to ask leave to have the honor to be presented by me to my venerable friend Lafayette, and also the permission to give him, with all the usual solemnities observed at this university on the arrival of their king and rector, a hearty *vivat*, as a sincere proof of their high respect and admiration for his virtues. Eberhard, who was then prorector of the university, approved highly of this step; and scarcely had he given his consent, when they took me under the arm and carried me into the muddy street in the midst of about eight hundred young men, overwhelming me with embraces and welcomes. When the tumult had subsided a little, I requested leave to prepare Lafayette for their intention, stating that Madame de Lafayette being unwell, she might be frightened at such an unexpected visit. This was readily granted, and I went with two delegates to our hotel, where I found a great assembly. I took Lafayette aside and told him what was going on; and we went together to the seat of Madame de Lafayette, and both were highly pleased. The two delegates were now presented to him and his lady, and so to all the others.

In the meanwhile, the students had formed their order of march, with a strong band of music at their head; torches and an immense crowd of people surrounded them. Every house, where the procession passed, was suddenly

illuminated; the whole city was in an uproar. As soon as I, deputed by Lafayette, arrived with my two companions at the head of the procession, to tell them, in the general's name, the great satisfaction felt by him and his family for the intended honor, a general *vivant Lafayette!* resounded in the air, and the music began to play the Marseilles hymn, which was sung by a chosen and harmonious choir of students, to the great surprise and satisfaction of Lafayette, whose whole features were radiant with joy, this being his favorite air.

As soon as the music stopped, a sudden *vive Lafayette!* burst out from a thousand voices, and a general clapping of hands was heard with the sound of trumpets and drums, which resounded throughout the line. This was repeated three times.

Meanwhile, the deputies of the various *Landsmannschaften* had formed round me, with the request to be introduced to my friend. The speaker, a fine young man, addressed him in French, and expressed to him, in a few eloquent words, their joy at his deliverance. Another presented him, upon a fine embroidered silk cushion, verses made an hour before by one of the students, in which the deeds, the sufferings, the deliverance, &c. of Lafayette were duly praised. These deputies were then presented to Madame de Lafayette, to every one, in short, belonging to our family assembled in the hall.

Lafayette now descended the staircase with us and came before the door. As soon as the crowd heard it was Gen. Lafayette, every one was anxious to shake hands with him, and the air resounded again with *vive Lafayette*, and the military music. The general was highly excited, thanked them in a few well-chosen phrases, and retired. The students returned in the same order, and gave some vivats to their prorector, and some other few professors, and every thing passed in a quiet and orderly way, that did honor to the students, by whom I was carried along to my great satisfaction and amusement. They wished me to be present at a large supper party, and I had to struggle hard before I could be permitted to retire; after a good hour spent with them, the whole procession, in spite of my most earnest entreaties, brought me back with music, torches, &c.

I invited six of them, in the general's name, to dine with us the next day, sure of the approval of my friends.

When I appeared, every one was astonished and pleased at what had passed; and I could hardly answer all the questions put me upon the organization of the Landmannshaften, the courses, the professors, &c. When I told them I had invited six students to dine with us, Lafayette pressed my hand cordially, and said, "I had anticipated his hearty wishes; but why no more than six?" asked he; "you should have invited at least the twelve deputies." "No, no," said Madame de Lafayette, "our friend Feldmann is right; he surely thought of reserving some covers for his other friends, the professors." I had told them before our arrival at Halle, that I had studied there during two years, and Madame de Lafayette had the kindness to ask me whom *we* should invite to dine with us the next day, among the professors I liked best. The professors Eberhard, Niemeyer, Wolf, George Forster, Jacob, Klein, Mekel, and various other distinguished German authors, were invited.

As we remained but the next day at Halle, I received, in the course of the whole morning, a great many calls, with the urgent request to be presented to Lafayette. A short time before our dinner, the Professor George Forster entered into my room and requested me to introduce him to Gen. Lafayette, with these words: "Tell him that I am the same George Forster who made the voyage round the world with Capt. Cook." Besides these guests, many others were invited, as the governor, the mayor, &c. But the most welcome to the family of Lafayette, was Capt. Muller, a Prussian officer, who was inspector of the prison at Magdeburg when Lafayette was detained there, and who rendered him great service. Madame de Lafayette invited him to sit at table near her; but as unhappily for both, he could not speak a single word of French or English, the former requested me to sit between her and the captain, so as to serve both as an interpreter. Madame de Lafayette, quick, lively and grateful for the services rendered to her husband, gave me scarcely the necessary time to explain to the veteran all the thousand agreeable things which she expressed in her peculiar and noble style, when another compliment followed like a platoon

fire. Gen. Lafayette, who observed us, saw with great pleasure how his worthy lady was animated, and eager to honor this brave man. Muller, after dinner, was so enchanted with the attentions paid him, that he took me by both hands and said aloud to me: "Oh, my dear sir, why has not Gen. Lafayette told me he had such a worthy lady? I assure you, I would have thrown myself in the heaviest fire for him!"

On the morning of our departure, many students had again assembled before our hotel; and when ready to depart, gave us a hearty vive Lafayette, one of the founders of the American freedom! in the midst of a martial band who played the Marseilles hymn until we were out of sight.

In Prussia, Brunswick and Hanover, where we passed, Lafayette and his companions were overwhelmed with sincere marks of attention and respect, and no king could ever boast having been welcomed more sincerely. Madame de Lafayette particularly was the object of general admiration and sincere esteem, for her heroic devotion and her great and eminent virtues. I saw with unfeigned delight how Lafayette was pleased when the crowd of visitors were eager to be presented to Madame de Lafayette; and as this was generally done by me, I could not less admire, even in ladies of the highest rank, the sincere demonstrations of admiration and respect expressed by them; and from Madame de Lafayette the modest, dignified and graceful manner with which she received all these marks of unfeigned respect.

From Hamburg we crossed the Elbe, and were received on board the American ship expressly retained to bring Lafayette and his family to America. We found in the harbor of Hamburg an innumerable crowd on board the vessels, on shore and upon the tops of the houses, who received Lafayette with the most unbounded demonstrations of joy. We found on board the American ship a sumptuous collation prepared beforehand, of which Messieurs Parish, the American consul, and Col. Morris discharged the honors to the satisfaction of every one.

We afterwards went to the residence of the American consul, where the Austrian minister, Baron Buel de Schauenstein and the Major Auerhammer arrived to place them in my presence, as the commissary of the French

republic, in the hands of the American consul. The latter had arranged this beforehand with the Austrian minister, who readily consented to this proposal, as soon as he was informed of the impaired health of Madame de Lafayette.

The moment they had arrived on the Hanoverian territory, at that time occupied by the French, they fixed the French tri-colored cockade on their hats, and paid the next day after their arrival at Hamburg, a visit to the French minister, citizen Reinhardt, who received them with that plain cordiality which distinguished this truly worthy and honest man.

As the health of Madame de Lafayette rendered a passage to America utterly impossible, the voyage was deferred; and Lafayette and his family left Hamburg and came to reside in its neighborhood.

The merit of the deliverance of the Olmutz prisoners has been generally attributed to the exertions of Gen. Bonaparte; he was, it is certain, the immediate author of their release, as physical power, fear and terror alone, could make any impression upon the thick organs of the hypocritically wicked Emperor Francis, and the still baser triumvirate.

The two crowned jailors, Francis and Frederic William II., king of Prussia, had committed a crime deserving an exemplary punishment; their bayonets and hired slaves alone saved them; posterity has already pronounced sentence on both. Frederic William II., died miserably tormented by mental and bodily pain, regretted by none, despised by all; Francis is an old knave, who bears the sceptre and crown like an Ourang Outang, whom Metternich & Co. command to nod assent or to shake his brainless head. He is the primary, the principal cause of the cruel sufferings and the premature death of Madame de Lafayette, whose heroism and eminent virtues could never be repaid by the existence of ten thousand such wretched beings as Francis.

The American government, and particularly Washington, its president, have undoubtedly a great claim to share the honor of the release of the Olmutz prisoners.

I have given elsewhere, some account of the great exertions of the Americans in favor of Lafayette. (See

Chap. XXI.) Here I will mention, among the various documents received, the remarkable answer of the Baron de Thugut, minister of state, in reply to a letter of John Parish, the American consul at Hamburg, dated Vienna, August 30, 1797.

"The banker, Hirsch,* at your particular request, received the permission 'de fournir l'argent, nécessaire pour pourvoir aux frais qui pourraient contribuer à l'agrement and à l'usage de la famille Lafayette. The Baron de Buel Schauenstein, minister plenipotentiary near the princes and states of Lower Saxony, may inform you des egards particuliers de S. M. I. pour l'interet que les Etats-Unis paraissent prendre dans la mise en liberté de le prisonnier, &c.'"

By this diplomatical ambiguity, which I give here in the very words of the original, it appears as if the minister wished to confer a great favor upon the family of Lafayette, by using the expression having given the *permission* to Mr. Hirsch, *de fournir* l'argent nécessaire, &c.

And secondly, the ambiguous expression, *fournir*, might induce the public to believe that the Austrian cabinet *had* furnished these funds.

I better than any other can assert knowingly, that M. Hirsch wanted not at all the permission of this minister to furnish the necessary funds, having at my arrival at Olmutz—eighteen months before this gracious permission of said ungracious baron—taken the liberty to supply M. Hirsch with a large amount of money, brought in part by myself from Hamburg, and drawn successively from different banking houses at Leipzic, Prague, Vienna, &c. These funds came neither from the Austrian government, nor from any Austrian subject, but from the American consul, John Parish, and many other respectable private gentlemen residing at Hamburg and London, of different nations, whom I could name if necessary. The greatest part of the funds received through Mr. Parish, was sent by Gen. Washington and other Americans, particularly for the use of the family of Lafayette. By the express desire of Gen. Lafayette, his wife requested me, in her

* The same who furnished me the greater part of the funds put at my disposition by order of Mr. Parish, and those of which I was the bearer, and had deposited in his hands for safety.

first letter, received from her dungeon, to apply the funds in hand indiscriminately for the use and comfort of the two other prisoners, Cesar Fay Latour Maubourg and Bureau de Puzy, their families, and their two faithful servants. Hence came my journey to Dresden, where I provided amply for the wants of Mesdames de Maubourg, Bureau de Puzy and their numerous families, at the request of both General and Madame de Lafayette.

The direction to spend this money for *us*, is another proof of Lafayette's well known disinterestedness and generosity, inasmuch as at that time he was ruined and absolutely poor. Both were very wealthy, but had lost their property, their all; hungry French, Prussian and Austrian wolves had ruined them.

These advanced sums, of which I had during about two years the exclusive control, were exactly repaid by the three families, Lafayette, Cesar Fay Latour Maubourg and Bureau de Puzy. In rendering up my accounts, after our stay at Hamburg, being all assembled in the chateau of Lehmkuhlen, Lafayette would absolutely not look on them, declining in very flattering terms. I requested, I entreated Madame de Lafayette to do it, but in vain. Her expressions were still kinder. Latour Maubourg, observing my eagerness, called Bureau de Puzy and said aloud to me, laughing, come, come with us, we will relieve you from all trouble. "Lafayette is proud as a *gentlehomme Auvergnat*, even while he is poor as *un rat d'église!*" This sally excited a general burst of laughter.

When we had done, we went again into the large saloon, and taking aside Lafayette, we stated to him the amount of the sums expended for each family. When he compared his expenses with those of Latour Maubourg, who had a much larger family, Lafayette said to me that I had charged Maubourg's account too heavily; the expenses of Victor and Florimond Latour Maubourg, for their journey to Italy, their return, &c. should have been placed to *his* account, as Cesar Fay Latour Maubourg, his co-prisoner, expended nothing in it, as it was he, or rather Madame de Lafayette (he never said my wife) who had sent them to Italy.

After a long and animated, but friendly debate, in which the comical and sarcastic reflections of Maubourg made us all laugh heartily, except Lafayette, who could,

nevertheless, not keep his usual gravity and was forced to smile, Latour Maubourg gained nothing; he was obliged to yield, and I was requested to charge the account of Lafayette with this and other sums, and his eyes sparkled; he showed it to Madame de Lafayette, and both thanked me warmly, when I brought them this heavy charge.

I have entered into all these details, to show how well united were this respectable couple.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Lafayette's stay at Hamburg, Lehmkuhlen and Wettmoldt—Families of Latour Maubourg and Bureau de Puzy—Lafayette's motives for remaining in Holstein—His stay in Holland.

PREVIOUS to our departure from the ship, the three prisoners had requested Mr. Parish to see the French minister, to whom I was charged to present them. The ladies and the rest of our large family, were entrusted to the care of Mr. Parish and Col. Morris. We had all four fixed the tri-colored cockade on our hats, and the coach, which I ordered to wait for us, was at a little distance from the wharf where we landed. On leaving the ship, we were saluted with cannon and firing of guns from all the surrounding vessels, and some hundred boats followed and surrounded us, with crowds of gentlemen and ladies, all eager to shake hands with Lafayette, at the risk of upsetting us and them. Military bands, tri-colored flags, and a thousand huzzas greeted our passage, and scarcely were we able to put a foot on shore. I have never seen the regularly grave inhabitants of Hamburg in such a state of enthusiasm as on this occasion.

Lafayette took my arm, preceded by numerous servants, who showed us the way and tried to make us room. Latour Maubourg gave his arm to Bureau de Puzy, in following us. Such was the condensed mass of people, that we had great trouble in gaining our carriage. Among a hundred evidences of hearty admiration, I may relate but one, as showing the strongest degree of veneration. We

had made scarcely twenty steps or paces, when a fine young man, in an elegant dress, pierced the crowd, and came upon me, his hat in hand, asking me in German if I was Gen. Lafayette? "No, sir; this is Gen. Lafayette;" pointing with my left hand, to my friend on my right. The young man passed quickly before us to the right, took Lafayette's hand, kneeled in the dust, and kissed it as a crusader would the holy cross! Lafayette and we all were greatly moved; the young man grew red and pale, but spoke not a word; while we also remained silent. The crowd soon separated us from him.

Through the attention of Messrs. Parish, Masson, Archenholtz, Sieveking, &c., lodgings had been secured and prepared for us all; and the next day, M. Reinhardt, the French minister, gave us an elegant entertainment, at which the prisoners made their appearance with the tri-colored cockade, which they had mounted on the day of their arrival on the neutral territory of Hamburg, in order to show that they were not emigrants, nor, indeed, had ever ceased to be Frenchmen and patriots.

It was here I enjoyed the pleasure of embracing my respected father, who had hastened to meet me, and to pay his tribute of respect to the illustrious prisoners. I had sent, when at Dresden, my servant, with letters of invitation from these gentlemen, and from Madame de Lafayette, entreating him to participate in the happiness of his son, who was now received into the bosom of their family.

While they were still in the neighborhood of Altona, George Washington Lafayette arrived from Mount Vernon, and the affecting scenes which this event gave rise to, we leave to the imagination of the reader.

They remained but a few days at Hamburg, and then accepted the invitation of a Hanoverian baron, who begged them to spend some time at the elegant chateau of Lehmkuhlen, near Eutin, in Holstein.

It was a long time settled between Lafayette and his intimate friend and co-prisoner, Gen. Cesar Fay Latour Maubourg, to unite themselves closer by a marriage between the two families; and it was agreed among the two families, that the youngest brother of the prisoner, Charles Maubourg, should marry the eldest daughter of Lafay-

ette. As they had never seen each other, except when very young, Charles Maubourg (who had remained at Hamburg while Victor and Florimond Latour Maubourg came to join me) was requested by his elder brother to meet us at Batzen, where the latter informed him of his future happiness. Madame de Lafayette had informed Anastasie of her destiny, on condition well stipulated beforehand, that if one of the interested parties should feel the least objection, the marriage should not take place. Both being handsome, and of the same quiet and amiable character, they were soon united.

A few days after our arrival at Hamburg, we went to M. Lagau, consul-general of France, with the young couple, to celebrate their civil marriage. General Lafayette invited the French minister, Reinhardt, and the American consul, John Parish, as witnesses; to honor, in the first, his country, and in the latter, the representative of the American people and his venerated friend Washington. M. Lagau, after having obtained the consent of the bridegroom and bride, the respective relations and witnesses inscribed their names, ages, &c., in his large register, and all present were obliged to sign their names.

This ceremony, which, at that time, by the laws of the French republic, gave a conclusive authority to every marriage, was no sooner ended, than we drove from the house of the French consul to the chateau of Lehmkuhlen, where Mesdames de Lafayette Maubourg and Bureau de Puzy, had gone the day before to receive the Catholic priest, who married them in a chapel prepared expressly for the purpose. The ceremony was celebrated in that simple, unostentatious style, which M. and Madame de Lafayette, on all occasions, preferred. The general at this chateau received, from a gentleman in London, in the name of his two sisters, a legacy bequeathed by them to Lafayette, to the amount of four thousand pounds sterling, which reverted, in case of the general's death, to his widow and his children.

On leaving the chateau of Lehmkuhlen, the prisoners and their families divided into separate parties. The general, his lady, his son-in-law, and his two daughters, then went to reside at the romantic retreat of Wettmoldt, a chateau which the Count de Tessé (who had married

the sister of Madame de Lafayette's mother) purchased shortly after his emigration. While the general and his family remained at Wettmoldt, I visited them three or four times in company with my father.

General Lafayette used frequently to dispute with his uncle, who was a nobleman of the old school, and grand cordon of the order of St. Esprit, and never omitted to wear the badge on holidays and Sundays. It was really an amusing and interesting spectacle, to see the *ancien regime*, in the person of this venerable old man, engaged in contest with the constitutional, patriotic, and republican principles of General Lafayette, who came off uniformly triumphant, not only because his subject was that of liberty and reason, but because he attacked the unmeaning exclamations of his uncle, with irrefragable arguments. After they had exhausted themselves in the controversy, they broke into a hearty laugh, shook hands, and were then again the best friends in the world.

It was in this delightful retreat, that General Lafayette resumed his old business, as he told me himself, at the time, the life and occupation of a peasant. He studied, with great care, the agriculture of Holstein, and, particularly, the best modes of raising cattle, in which the inhabitants of Holstein especially excelled. His attention was, above all, directed to the breeding of merino sheep, in which, several years after, at La Grange, his country-seat, near Paris, he showed very great skill and ability.

General Maubourg, his friend and companion in misfortune, had fixed his residence, with all his family, in the small town of Plon, three miles from the chateau of Wettmoldt, where he lived in philosophical retirement. All the Holstein nobility resorted to these two objects of ministerial tyranny, the most unequivocal testimonials of regard and respect. Among these, was particularly distinguished the Danish chamberlain, Augustus Hennings, prefect (*bailli*) of Plon. Archenholtz and he were friends, rival authors and journalists of great reputation, and warm admirers of Gen. Lafayette, his family, and companions. They both directed their bold and animated eloquence against the Prussian and Austrian cabinets, and they both left behind them (for they died long ago) the sincerest regrets of us all.

M. Bureau de Puzy, who, in 1796, as we have stated before, refused to leave his prison without his companions, accompanied us on the journey from Olmutz to Hamburg. He proceeded to Altona, where he was joined by his father-in-law, M. Dupont de Nemours, and Madame de Nemours, his wife's mother. They embarked together for New-York, where they were received with the greatest cordiality, as well on account of their personal merit, as because M. de Puzy had been the companion and intimate friend of Gen. Lafayette. As he was consummately skilled in the science of engineering, he was invited to superintend the public works erecting in defence of New-York. He, however, with great delicacy, declined the appointment, until he had obtained the consent of the government of France. As soon as the first consul was made acquainted with this fact, he immediately recalled him, and appointed him, successively, officer, then commander of the Legion of Honor, prefect of the departments of l'Allier, Rhone and Genoa; at which latter place he died, too soon for his friends and his country, on the second of February, 1806.

The French minister at Hamburg, the citizen Reinhardt, when we visited him in debarking, asked the three ex-prisoners, if their intention was to re-enter France? "Oh," said Maubourg, "it is just that we should have this permission, having never had any communication, nor wishing to be confounded with the emigrants: but has the directory given orders to restore our confiscated property?" This question could not be answered by the minister in a satisfactory manner; and we took leave of him, after having received a kind and pressing invitation to dine with him the next day.

The three prisoners had various conferences, before they left Lehmkuhlen, in which the political situation of France was freely discussed; they were greatly dissatisfied, principally with the revolution of the 18th Fructidor, (6th of September,) by which Carnot and Barthelemy were expelled by the three other directors, Barras, Reubel, and Lareveillere Lepaux. Bureau de Puzy, a man of profound and sound judgment, answered one of my observations in defence of a republic: "Oh, speak you of a republic in France! this, my dear friend, is a chimera: Frenchmen are not prepared

to become republicans ! See how long your so called republic has existed ; what crimes, what bloodshed, what arbitrary measures, have been employed to form, to support, and to continue its existence ; and, at last, five men undertook to govern, and not satisfied to divide the power among five, they expelled two, justly the most able and honest, by force of arms, from their directorial chairs, and proscribed a hundred of their friends, and sent them to Cayenne ! Is this liberty and freedom ? Believe me, sir, this is true military anarchy, and will end in despotism !” These memorable words were prophetic, and are still deeply engraved in my mind.

Lafayette's feelings were much hurt when at Wettmoldt he received the sad news that the remainder of his large estates were sold as national property, during the time of his journey from Olmutz to Hamburg. How differently did the United States act ! They voted to Lafayette a number of acres of land, in the best province of Louisiana, as a major-general of their army. They gave him a large sum of money for the support of his family : in short, while the directory paid him with *casu benite de cour*, in recommending to its agents to treat him with the highest respect ; the other, no less respectful, gave him the true means to place himself in a respectable situation.

The final results of these conferences were, the resolution not yet to enter France ; to wait for better times, and a more fixed government. The three families, whose means were limited, were obliged to separate, as before mentioned.

When at Wettmoldt, Lafayette wrote the following remarkable letter to M. Masclet, who had, as I have stated elsewhere, assumed the name of Eleutheré. Lafayette was also agreeably surprized to receive a special invitation from the republic of Holland ; where the relations he had maintained with that state and with the proscribed Dutch, in 1787, were gratefully remembered.

As soon as he heard of the revolution of the 18th Brumaire, he resolved to proceed to Paris, without either permission or a special invitation from the first consul.

"To Citizen Elouthero, at Paris :

" WETTMOLDT, near Plon, 9th Brumaire, year 6.

"How is it possible, my dear friend, that you should not yet have received, since our deliverance, the tribute of my gratitude and the expression of my affectionate friendship? M * * * will have explained to you the causes of this delay; the hope of a still greater happiness could alone induce me to forego that of writing to you. I am far from giving up my hopes of this happiness, of which I have more need than ever; and I ask it of you, with that feeling of confidence, to which you have given me title, that I fear not abusing; and which it is meet for me to profess. I do not speak to you, my dear friend, of my obligations to you. More than my own liberty and my own life was at stake, since my wife, my daughters, my two friends, and our faithful domestics have been restored to life with me. How many other obligations still, that are ever present to my heart, I would have to retrace, did I attempt to paint my lively gratitude: but it is inexpressible—it is exhaustless, like your friendship. In pressing you in my arms, I would love to thank you.

"You have had tidings of our deliverance, of our journey, and of our health; the bad condition of which, particularly that of my wife, forced us to stop in the nearest place of safety. To have embarked, even on a short voyage, had caused much ill to a part of our caravan; to have travelled by land, after the first eight days, had not been safe, and my wife could not have undertaken it without dangerous fatigue, for her strength was exhausted. We are, therefore, going to dwell, for some time, in quite a lonely residence, between Kiel and Plon. This territory is under the authority of the king of Denmark, whose relations with the republic will hinder him, I hope, from disturbing French citizens whose principles may not please him, but whose only occupation will be the taking care of their health, and who cannot, unfortunately, aid liberty in their present situation, except with their wishes.

"Our first free act at Hamburg was, our homage to the representative of the republic, of which he must have informed the government. We have written to Bonaparte in triumph, and to Clarke in misfortune, for both have great titles to our gratitude. But, as it seems to us, that

our official tribute ought to be addressed to the minister of foreign affairs, chief organ of the government in the steps taken to rescue us from captivity and death, we have written to Talleyrand, as being the natural depository of our thanks; as the person to whom we owe an account of our existence in a foreign country, and as joining to his titles, as minister, those of our heartfelt personal obligations to him. We believe we have discharged, by these three acts at Hamburg, in Italy, and at Paris, our duty in a suitable manner. The pleasure of our deliverance is immensely increased by the idea that we owe it to the triumphs of the republic, to the benevolence of our fellow-citizens, and to the zeal of our dear friends, of whom you know one, as talented as he is excellent, whom I love with all my heart's affection, whom I burn to embrace; to whom I have a thousand and a thousand things to say, and ask, and whom I shall cherish till I breathe my last.

"LAFAYETTE."

CHAPTER XXVII.

Lafayette's return to France—His different interviews with Bonaparte—His address to the Departemental Council of the Upper Loire—His vote against the consulate for life, and his letter to the First Consul.

THE 18th Brumaire was the inevitable consequence of the contemptible, selfish, and arbitrary revolutionary government. The proclamation, full of republican principles; the brilliant promises of liberty, security and happiness, which Bonaparte gave to the French nation; were powerful inducements for Lafayette to return into France, without any previous invitation or even permission from the consular government. Well aware of the humane, and, at that time, liberal principles of Bonaparte, he was conscious, also, of being sincerely admired and esteemed by him. In common with all good men, Lafayette saw and hailed the prospect of the restoration of better and sounder politics. He respected the young hero who had evinced so much interest in his welfare, and felt extremely grateful for all that had been done for him while in prison. He did not forget that it was to

Gen. Bonaparte, and to the energetic measures he had adopted, that he owed his liberty.

As soon as Lafayette arrived at Paris, he addressed a highly complimentary letter to the first consul, and was received with the most flattering distinction.

The intercourse between Gen. Lafayette and the first consul was for some time maintained, on a very amicable footing. They more than once had conversation of three or four hours' duration. To Gen. Bonaparte M. Lafayette was already a character of past history. In the comrade of Washington, in the old commander of the National Guard of 1789, he honored virtues which he did not himself practise. He had already, as he did again, at a subsequent period, manifested a wish to attach Lafayette to his government; and had several times endeavored to induce Lafayette, through some friends, to enter the senate, but in vain. Napoleon at length determined to speak to him himself. Lafayette's answer to the latter was candid, and produced no misunderstanding between them. Accordingly, with the consent of the first consul, he retired from the army. "Connected," he said in his letter to the minister, "from their commencement, with those institutions which have triumphed in Europe, united by the ties of affection, to the generals of the republic, I have ever been their comrade; but I pretend not, after so many victories, to be their rival; I beg, then, if you think I ought to be put on the retired list, that you will have the goodness to request it of the first consul."

In one of the conversations between Lafayette and the first consul, the former blamed the project of the concordate. "While you consecrate, as you ought to do, religious liberty," said he to Bonaparte, "do not create an established religion. Leave every individual as in the United States, to pay for his own worship and to choose his own ministers. Really pious men ask for nothing more, and will bless you; political devotees will say that you have not done enough, and anti-religionists that you have done too much. They will be equally wrong. Confess that there is no other object in all this than to break the little phial. That is to say, to raise a barrier between the Bourbons and the French clergy."

"You are making sport of the little phial and me too,"

replied the first consul ; " but be assured that it matters little to me, either at home or abroad, to make the pope and all his adherents declare against the legitimacy of the Bourbons. I every day meet with these follies in negotiations. The diocesses of France are yet ruled by bishops in the pay of the enemy. But do you not come to reproach me with an act of tyranny against a priest ?" (A priest had been imprisoned as a lunatic, because he preached a seditious sermon.) " I confess that was an act of tyranny ; but what other mode is there of keeping them within bounds, as long as they are not subject to discipline ?"

While the first consul grew in greatness, and, unfortunately, in power, Gen. Lafayette continued in his retirement, the worshipper of liberty. We shall find them both on the stage of public affairs, during the melancholy events of 1815.

The first consul soon saw that this veteran of two revolutions, entertained opinions wholly at variance with his own, and that a character like his would not readily yield to the direction of a government which Bonaparte intended to introduce. In his conversations, Lafayette, penetrating the secret intentions of the first consul, spoke to him with his peculiar warm eloquence, in trying to inspire him with republican sentiments ; he mentioned the constitution of the United States, their flourishing and happy situation, and the facility with which Bonaparte could establish a similar one by adapting it to the character and the customs of the French nation. Lafayette soon perceived that the first consul listened to him with a cool and distracted air, and tried to give another turn to the conversation.

Bonaparte, nevertheless, could not abstain from admiring him, and received him always with great distinction. He also manifested his esteem for Lafayette, by appointing his fellow-prisoners to posts of honor. Cesar Fay Latour Maubourg was successively created general of division, member of the legislative corps, senator, commandant of the legion of honor, count of the empire, and commissary imperial at Cherbourg ; and later, peer of France. Bureau de Puzy, recalled from America, was received by the first consul with the greatest distinction ; he named him prefect and commandant of the le-

gion of honor. Alexander Lameth was named prefect of the lower Alps, commandant of the legion, and count of the empire.

Lafayette refused a seat in the departemental council of the upper Loire; on that occasion he delivered the following address to his fellow-citizens:

"After having taken part in an honorable revolution, whence the American republics have derived liberty and happiness, I was already a veteran in the cause of the people, when France adopted those eternal truths which, being since invoked by the oppressed of all parties, have incessantly denounced the weak men who permitted their violation, and their violators who profaned them by a false worship.

"Enjoying, myself, the public confidence and a popularity which I shall never prefer to the discharge of my duty, I flattered myself that after having surmounted, with my fellow-citizens, the storms of their complete renovation, I should leave them to enjoy its fruits; and if this ambition was justified by some services, it is due above all to the patriotism of my friends, to that power instituted, both for the maintenance of legal order and the destruction of hostile coalitions, which, though paralyzed in its sedentary existence, has so gloriously fulfilled its ulterior destination.

"Afterwards, called from retirement to command, impressed with the imminence of our civil dangers, I devoted myself wholly to the task of exposing them, and, encouraged by the general wish, I cherished the hope of averting them. But though my conduct on the 10th of August, 1792, was the act of my life of which I have most reason to be proud, I will here merely do homage to the worthy martyrs of the national sovereignty and the sworn laws, who, while they supported constitutional royalty, manifested the highest degree of republican virtue.

"Far from regretting, in my melancholy banishment, my precautions for the safety of the army, or my repugnance to deprive the frontier of a single man who could defend it, which caused me and my companions to fall into the hands of the enemy, I regard as the least of my misfortunes, a captivity assuaged by the most gratifying approbation and the kindest sympathy, and terminated by the triumphs of our country, and which, while exhib-

iting for five years the malignity of our powerful jailers, have perhaps served as an antidote to their intrigues.

"Alas! misfortunes, which nothing can terminate, nothing assuage, and those which by inundating France, have pierced my heart with the keenest grief: the most intolerable suffering is to behold crime deforming and holding up to public odium all that we most dearly love. These disastrous times, which were the result of anarchy, tyranny, and submission to oppression, must serve but to fortify us in our inflexible love of liberty.

"The liberation of the prisoners of Olmutz, (of whom two, Latour Maubourg and myself, have had the honor to be your deputies,) though long demanded by the government of our country, and pressed by the zeal of our plenipotentiaries and the victories of Bonaparte, did not take place until near the 18th Fructidor. I had abjured all claim to my return, under the system which arose out of the proceedings of that day, but which was succeeded by the engagements and hopes of the 18th Brumaire. I then thought I had a right to put a period to my outlawry, and after informing the provisional consuls of my arrival, and demanding the recall of my companions in exile, I awaited our erasure in the retirement to which I have withdrawn, and where, removed from the turmoil of public affairs, and devoting myself to the repose of private life, I form ardent wishes that peace abroad may speedily crown those miracles of glory which have surpassed the prodigies of preceding campaigns, and that peace at home may be consolidated on the essential and invariable basis of true liberty."

"I feel happy that twenty-five years of vicissitudes in my fortune, and firmness in my principles, warrant me in repeating here, that if, to recover her rights, it is sufficient for a nation to resolve to do so, she can preserve them only by rigid fidelity to her civil and moral duties."

But Lafayette appeared in a still more exalted light, when the question of electing Bonaparte consul for life, was under discussion. Shortly before this event, he had a remarkable interview with the first consul, who invited Lafayette expressly to meet him at the Tuilleries. When he appeared, Bonaparte ordered every one to retire, and received him alone in his cabinet. They conversed upon the constitution and the happiness of the people, and at

length the consul attempted to sound him upon the proposed nomination. "General," said Lafayette to him, without hesitation, "before venturing upon such a step, France and her best subjects expect of you a guaranty of their liberties. As soon as they are satisfied on this score, they will comply with your wishes, unasked." From that time forward, Bonaparte and Lafayette became irreconcilably opposed to each other.

His vote was expressed in the following terms: "I cannot vote for such a magistracy, until the liberties of the people are secured: in that case, I vote for Napoleon Bonaparte."

He wrote, at the same time, to the first consul, as follows:

"GENERAL: When a man, who is deeply impressed with a sense of the gratitude he owes you, and who is too ardent a lover of glory to be wholly indifferent to yours, connects his suffrage with conditional restrictions, these restrictions not only secure him from suspicion, but prove amply, that no one will, more gladly than himself, behold in you, the chief magistrate, for life, of a free and independent republic.

"The 18th of Brumaire saved France from destruction: and I felt myself reassured and recalled by the liberal declarations to which you have connected the sanction of your honor. In your consular authority, there was afterwards discerned that salutary dictatorial prerogative, which, under the auspices of a genius like yours, accomplished such glorious purposes; yet, less glorious, let me add, than the restoration of liberty would prove.

"It is not possible, general, that you, the first amidst that order of mankind, which surveys every age and every country, before the stations of its members in the scale can be determined, that you can desire that a revolution, marked by an unexampled series of stupendous victories and unheard-of sufferings, shall give nothing to the world but a renovated system of arbitrary government. The people of this country have been acquainted with their rights too long, to forget them for ever: but perhaps they may recover, and enjoy them better now, than during the period of revolutionary effervescence. And you, by the strength of your character and the influence of public

confidence, by the superiority of your talents, your power, and your fortunes, in re-establishing the liberties of France, can allay all agitations, calm all anxieties, and subdue all dangers.

"When I wish, then, to see the career of your glory crowned by the honors of perpetual magistracy, I but act in correspondence with my own private sentiments, and am influenced exclusively by patriotic considerations. But all my political and moral obligations, the principles that have governed every action of my life, call on me to pause, before I bestow on you my suffrage, until I feel assured that your authority shall be erected on a basis worthy of the nation and yourself.

"I confidently trust, general, that you will recognize here, as you have done on all other occasions, a steady continuance of my political opinions, combined with the sincerest prayers for your welfare, and the deepest sense of all my obligations towards you."

It is easy to recognize, in the language of this letter, a man whose principles have never deviated for a moment, and who, in defiance of what was termed legitimate authority, as well as under all the pressure of arbitrary tyranny, braved its menaces and resisted its encroachments. It must be admitted, that such conscientious firmness of purpose is exceedingly rare; and we are particularly bound to admire it, when it involves consequences of serious danger. In this point of view, Lafayette deserves the highest applause; for, at all times, and under all circumstances, he continued true to his political professions, and faithful to his country's interests.

This letter was never answered, and Lafayette did not see the first consul again, until the 3d of June, 1815.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Lafayette's retreat to La Grange—Death of Madame de Lafayette—Fatal accident which happened to him.

From this moment, Lafayette seldom appeared at the Tuilleries, and resisted the most pressing solicitations of his friends to accept the brilliant offers of the first consul. He retired to the only property left to Madame de

Lafayette, the chateau of La Grange, sixteen leagues from Paris, declaring he would hang his uniform and his sword on the wall, and exchange them for a spade and a plough.

When we consider the ardent soul of Lafayette; his enthusiastical love for glory and fame; his brilliant career in America and France; his long habits of a very active and varied military wandering life; we cannot too much admire his resolution to withdraw from the grand theatre of the world, when still in the fullest vigor of manhood. It is, nevertheless, not astonishing; particularly that of having kept faithfully his resolution in declining any office not in strict accordance with his once adopted principles. By refusing a seat in the senate, the marshal's staff, a title, orders, &c., which all gave large salaries, he showed clearly that he would not have made himself an instrument in the hands of Napoleon, to assist him in the subjugation of the liberties of France. He sacrificed his personal aggrandizement to the welfare of his country, rejected every offer whatever, and preferred the *awrea mediocritas*, and a philosophical and honorable retreat, to the most tempting propositions of the chief magistrate of France! His inclinations, his opinions, and his feelings, confirmed him in the act, and Lafayette continued worthy of himself, resisting, with consistent uniformity, the pressing entreaties of his numerous friends, and the brilliant offers of the government of his country.

Notwithstanding the vicissitudes of a very stormy life, mingled with numerous persecutions, and with disappointments more numerous still, Lafayette preserved his gentleness of character. His temper was even, and his society of easy access to his intimates. On quitting him, you were always sure to find him again the same.

He treated his domestics with a kindness that won him their hearts; these good fellows were, in consequence, wholly devoted to him, and served him with a zeal that he had no need of stimulating. These sentiments of benevolence for his inferiors, which so highly exalt him that practices them in the eyes of all but conceited coxcombs or fools, were innate in Lafayette, as may be inferred from the following anecdote:

Shortly before the revolution of '89, Lafayette was

walking in the great gallery of the castle of Chavagnac, with a nobleman of the neighborhood, and conversing with him upon the future emancipation of the people of Auvergne, when their discussion was interrupted by the arrival of some peasants from his farm, who came to offer him some cheeses, which they presented to him on bended knee, and in an attitude of submission and great respect. "See," said the nobleman, "how well these peasants are fitted to receive your emancipation, for which they care mighty little." "Well, well," replied Lafayette, "yet a few years and we shall see which of us is right." Some years afterwards the revolution broke out; seignorial rights were abolished, and the nobleman obliged to escape by flight from the fury of the peasantry, who continued to respect Lafayette, who had always treated them as a father rather than as their lord.

He is tenderly loved by his numerous family, who resemble him in the principal traits of his character. Modest, plain, and unassuming, in his general deportment, he was ever the enemy of parade and ostentation. I have been with him frequently, when he was dressed in his gray coat and round hat, with his cane in his hand, and his grandson walking between us, and have thus gone with him over his farm, adjoining the chateau of La Grange, to examine and count his flocks of merines. I have seen him enter into lively and familiar conversation with the shepherds, go into the sheepfold, look at the diseases of the sheep, and attend to the shearing. On such occasions, he would say to me, "My dear friend, you cannot conceive how much pleasure I enjoy in watching the yearly growth of this fine flock. It was in your country* I first learned the proper management of sheep, and I have succeeded in crossing the *mestices* with the merines. Do you know that each fleece will give me twelve francs, and that I get two shearings every year," &c. &c. When I visited him, shortly after his establishment at La Grange, walking arm in arm through his fields, and heard him with eagerness explain his projects and plans of embellishing his park, drying a marsh, planting trees, &c., I could not restrain observing to him, smiling: "Well, well, my dear general, this is

* The reader will recollect that part of my family resided at Holstein,

surely all very good, but have you well calculated that all this cannot be done as quickly as we could raise and organize an army?" He smiled, in answering me: "You are right, truly, but wait ten years longer and you shall see that I will and must succeed." I laughed heartily, on hearing him speak so earnestly, and replied: "You, my dear general, you could remain ten years the farmer of La Grange? Impossible, impossible!" Thirty-four years passed, and Lafayette died the farmer of La Grange.

His grandson would frequently interrupt him, and ask question after question, first of his grandfather, and then of me, as I generally held one of his hands. His grandfather always took pains to explain whatever the boy could be made to understand, and was never fatigued with answering the questions he asked. At other times, we rambled in his beautiful park, where the children would amuse themselves in sports in which he would often participate himself, setting on the smaller in pursuit of the larger, and cheering and helping them forward as they ran. At other times again we walked over his new plantations, which are now, I presume, of considerable extent; and here he took pleasure in showing the marshes he had drained, the fields he had cleared and made fertile, and the charming grove he had planted at a short distance from his house. Here he had set out rows of all sorts of fruit trees and grafted them; there he had brought streams of water over dry or parched soils; thus every day varying his rural occupations and amusements.

While General Lafayette lived retired at his estate of La Grange, sixteen leagues from Paris, near the small town of Rosay, in the province of Brie, where he devoted himself entirely to agriculture, Madame de Lafayette, who had brought with her from the dungeons of Olmutz the seeds of a fatal disease, was struck with a paralysis, which deprived her of the use of her limbs, and prevented her from moving even from one room to another, except in an easy chair mounted on rollers. Her husband and family, alarmed at her situation, prevailed upon her to return to Paris for medical advice. She reluctantly consented, and often said to the general, "I feel, my dear husband, that my situation is hopeless, and that the best medical advice cannot restore me to health. I should wish, therefore, to die in peace, surrounded by

you and my children, in this house of my ancestors,* rather than in the capital; but as you wish it, I will go." She was conveyed to Paris; but no skill could save her.

This striking model of heroism and virtue, died on the 24th of December, 1807, after the most severe sufferings, which she bore with fortitude, while, at the same time, she endeavored to conceal them as much as possible from her friends. She expired in the midst of her large family, who in vain poured out their prayers to heaven for her recovery.

She had lost the faculty of speech when I arrived from Montmorency to see her. What a terrible impression this sad spectacle made upon me! Her husband and family were assembled around her bed, and covered their faces, while the dying woman, with a smile playing on her pallid lips, contemplated in silence this heart-rending spectacle. All the ladies, on their knees, with their children, stifled their sobs, as they pressed around her couch. Even at this moment, when so many years have glided away, I cannot revive the recollection, without shedding tears to the memory of this innocent victim of the two Austrian tyrants, whose cruelties had shortened her existence. She seemed to recognize me, and gently taking my hand, pressed it, when she attempted to speak, but she could not utter a word, and I hurried out of the room, and never saw her again until she was wrapt in her shroud. Devoted to her domestic duties, which were her only pleasure; adorned by every virtue; pious, modest, charitable, severe to herself, indulgent to others, she was one of the few whose pure reputation has received fresh lustre from the misfortunes of the revolution. Though ruined by these political storms, yet she scarcely seemed to recollect that she had ever enjoyed ample fortune. She was the happiness of her family, the friend of the poor, the consoler of the afflicted, an ornament to her country and an honor to her sex. (Extract from the *Journal de l'Empire*, du 25 Decembre, 1807.)

Every year afterwards, Lafayette spent the whole week of this fatal epoch alone, in his family at La Grange, and received no strangers at all; and till his

* The estate of La Grange belonged to Madame de Lafayette; it had been sequestered, but was restored under the Directory. All the other estates of the two families, Lafayette and Noailles, (his wife's), were sold, with the exception of a small farm in Auvergne, of which the general retained possession.

death, he made it a sacred and inviolable rule, to abandon the pleasures of society on the anniversary week of his wife's dissolution. "You must not go this week to La Grange," said the American consul to his friends; "it is the week devoted to the memory of his lamented wife."

Lafayette's troubles were not yet at an end. The next winter, after transacting some business with M. Decrès, minister of the marine, he left the office about ten o'clock in the evening; a rain having just fallen, which had frozen on the ground, and as the general had left his carriage two hundred paces off, in walking to it, he had the misfortune to fall and break his leg. He was taken to his carriage, suffering excruciating pain; one of the most skilful surgeons applied to it an apparatus consisting of two wooden splints, firmly bound together, which he was obliged to wear nearly six months, while at the same time he was compelled to keep the same position, for fear of deranging the dressings. He was cured at the end of the year, after severe sufferings, but he remained lame till his death.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Lafayette in 1814 and 1815—He returns again to La Grange.

A NEW dynasty, say the French orators of the day, "must be baptized by blood." Napoleon felt so. He crossed the mount St. Bernard with 40,000 men, as Hannibal did the Alps; entered Milan and Pavia, and routed Melas completely at Marengo, and completed, in a few days, the conquest of Italy, whilst Gen. Moreau, at Hohenlinden, routed the Archduke John. These successes emboldened him to aspire to a prolongation of ten years more, and finally to be elected first consul for life. The steps of his throne were the supposed projects of the conspiracy of Pichegru and Georges: the blood of the Duke d'Eughien cemented them. Scarcely twelve months had elapsed since the first consul had declared, in council, hereditary right to be an absurdity. The senate now asserted the necessity of declaring Bonaparte heredi-

tary sovereign, "in order to insure the public triumph of liberty and equality without fear of overthrow!!" Once named emperor, nothing could resist his ambitions and brilliant career.

I visited, in 1807, the philosopher of La Grange, (as I used to call Lafayette.) He received me with his usual kindness: after a few words of conversation, he said to me: "My dear friend, I am always highly pleased to see you here; you know you belong to our family; but I fear that your frequent calls at La Grange may be known, displease the emperor, and have a bad influence upon your advancement." He was greatly pleased when I assured him how little I cared for his displeasure, being well aware that I was rather a volunteer in the army, and absolutely independent of his displeasure or pleasure.

Lafayette continued at his chateau of La Grange, a quiet spectator of political occurrences and of the restoration of the Bourbons.

In 1814, at the period of the restoration, he had only seen the king and Monsieur his brother once; and although well received, he did not return. But when the congress of Vienna placed Napoleon beyond the pale of the law; when the coalesced powers were arrayed a second time against France, for the purpose of re-establishing Louis XVIII., by force of arms, he quitted his retreat. It was at this period that King Joseph, brother to the emperor, proposed to him a meeting, to judge for himself the value of the guaranties that were about to be offered to the French people and the world. Lafayette thought it his duty to agree to this proposal, saying, "that such an appeal, in the crisis in which they were placed, allowed him no room for hesitation; but that he now went with an incredulity which would fully compensate for his excess of confidence, in the year 8." In the additional act, he disapproved of the sovereign power taking the priority which ought to have been left to a national representation; he condemned the hereditary peerage as an institution opposed to his political creed, and wished not to renew his personal relations with the emperor, foreseeing, as he said, that his unbending nature would make him sooner or later his opponent. He did not, however, show himself the less determined to serve him to the utmost of his power, and to aid, with all the influ-

once his rank as a popular deputy gave him, the efforts which Bonaparte made to repel foreign invasion and intrigue, and to oppose those princes who appeared in the ranks of the enemy and under the protection of their bayonets. He made at his commune and in the departmental college of the Seine and Marne, every reservation for the rights of the nation in general, and for those of each individual citizen; and yet he was, nevertheless, elected president and afterwards first deputy. Lafayette did not lend himself to the project, which was broached, of nominating him president of the chamber; but he was one of the vice-presidents, and urged the formation of a new constitution. In the committee for drawing up the address, he demanded that it should be conformable to the national dignity. "The Emperor Napoleon," said Lafayette, "ascending gradually from his post of national magistrate to seat himself upon a throne without limits, seems to have wished to punish us for the abuse of republican forms, by making us feel all the weight of absolute monarchy. He jumbled together the men and opinions of two arbitrary systems, to the exclusion of the principles of 1789, and made constant advances towards despotism, through the carelessness of the people."

Gen. Lafayette, in expressing his desire that the assembly should assume an attitude capable of inspiring confidence in the nation and in Europe, said that its conduct would settle the question as to whether it was to be called *the representation of the French people*, or simply *the Napoleon Club*. He devotedly applied himself to all the means of resistance required by the emperor, and regretted Napoleon's repugnance to employ the national mass; for instance, the great levy offered by Brittany. But the disaster of Waterloo, the arrival of Napoleon, the instantaneous plan, then avowed but since denied, of dissolving the chamber of representatives, and the ill-boding predictions of his most devoted adherents, rendered the adoption of other measures necessary.

In this momentous crisis, 21st of June, Lafayette, without having had time to forewarn his colleagues, mounted the tribune and said:

"When for the first time for many years, I now raise a voice which the old friends of liberty may still remember, I feel myself called upon, gentlemen, to address you

respecting the dangers of the country, which you alone are now able to save.

"Sinister reports have been spread abroad; they are now unhappily confirmed. The moment has arrived for rallying round the old tri-colored standard, that of 1789, that of liberty, equality and public order. It is that standard alone, which we have to defend against foreign pretensions and internal intrigues. Permit, gentlemen, a veteran in this sacred cause, one who was ever a stranger to the spirit of faction, to submit to you some provisional resolutions, the necessity of which I trust you will acknowledge.

"Art. 1. The chamber of representatives declares that the independence of the nation is menaced.

"2. The chamber declares itself permanent. Every attempt to dissolve it is high treason; and whoever is guilty of that attempt, will be a traitor to the country, and instantly condemned as such.

"3. The army of the line and the National Guards who have fought and still are fighting to defend the liberty, the independence and the territory of France, have merited well of the country.

"4. The minister of the interior is called upon to assemble the general staff and the commandants and majors of the national guard of Paris, in order to consider of the means of arming and rendering most efficient that civic guard, whose patriotism and zeal, after twenty-six years' trial, offer a sure guarantee for the liberty, property and tranquillity of the capital, and for the inviolability of the representatives of the nation.

"5. The minister of war, for foreign affairs, of the interior, and of the police, are required to join the assembly immediately."

The assembly adopted these resolutions on the instant; but some persons artfully procured the adjournment of the article relative to the National Guard, which would have placed fifty thousand men at the disposal of the assembly, for its own defence and that of the capital. Nevertheless, many battalions came spontaneously to range themselves under the command of the national representatives and their old general.

In the secret committee, which was held that evening, Lucien Bonaparte, having ventured some allusions to the

volatile character of the French people, M. de Lafayette rose and pronounced in his place, with impressive composure, the following words: "That is a calumnious assertion, which has just been preferred. Who can dare accuse Frenchmen of fickleness and want of steadiness, with regard to the Emperor Napoleon? Did they not follow him through the sands of Egypt and along the deserts of Russia, over fifty fields of battle, in his disasters as well as in his victories? and it is for having followed him that they have to regret the blood of three millions of their countrymen!" These few words produced a deep impression on the assembly, and even Lucien himself made a respectful obedience before the worthy veteran of liberty.

As soon as Napoleon sent in his abdication, a provisional government was created. Every one thought that Lafayette would have formed a part of it, and that he would then have been elected president. His avowed intention was to make an appeal to the French people, to call upon the nation to rise in support of an army still numerous; and he doubted not that those National Guards and those tried troops of the line, would be better enabled than in 1792 to repulse the enemies, with whom he would never treat, except on the other side of the frontiers, leaving the nation to adopt her own constitution and choose her own destiny. Intrigue, ignorance, old prejudices and new plots prevailed. The proposition of the Duke of Otranto and of M. M. Dupin and Regnault, was to name five commissioners; *three* chosen in the chamber of representatives and *two* in the chamber of peers. Public report alluded to Fouché and Carnot as the two to be named in the peers, and among the deputies, Generals Lafayette and Grenier, and a third upon whom the choice was said to be not yet determined. These arrangements were altered by a species of mystification of which many persons were the dupes. In the second draught of this proposition, the word *by* was substituted for *in*. The chamber of representatives made the first choice. They were persuaded to nominate two of the peers; they chose Carnot and Fouché. Lafayette and Grenier were then ballotted for, and the latter was chosen. It was thought, two hours before the scrutiny, that Lafayette had the majority of votes: but it proved

otherwise; not that his personal friends, on this occasion, as in the affair of the precedency, had withheld this honor from him; on the contrary, they eagerly promoted his election; but many interests and passions were arrayed against him. The influence which the royal party might possess, if not within the house, at least out of doors, was directed against a man for whom indeed it had recently manifested its dislike,* and who would listen to no compromise at variance with certain fixed principles of their own. Many republicans who had proscribed him by calling him *aristocrat* and *royalist*, and who were now covered with titles and orders, reproached him with entertaining republican designs, and with being no more favorable to the new hereditary nobility than he had been to the old. Reports were circulated that he would refuse the office; that he reserved himself for the National Guard; or for an embassy. The consequence was, that he obtained but one hundred and forty-two votes. If this disposition to oppose the interests of parties was unfavorable to him, the Duke of Otranto, on the contrary, found himself supported by the Bonapartists, who knew him to be in correspondence with M. de Metternich, to secure the regency; by the conventionalists, who were attached to the old interests; and, above all, by the ardent votaries of royalty, who looked up to him as their exclusive advocate. The republican integrity of Carnot, his correspondence during the last crisis of Bonaparte, in whose conversion he trusted, and whom he regarded, in the sincerity of his

* This malevolence is evinced in a manner as bitter as it is mendacious, in a History of the Restoration, recently published, in which there are many proofs that not a few of its notes have been supplied by the men who, at that time, intrigued for Louis XVIII., among the members of the chamber of representatives, and with Fouché himself,—those same men, who pursued, with their ingratitude and their hatred, Napoleon, whose humble servants they had previously proved themselves. Lafayette, on the other hand, endeavored to secure his passage to the United States, and testified to the fallen emperor, on that very occasion, every sentiment compatible with his patriotic duties.

M. Gallatin, who is known to Europe and especially to France by his diplomatic labors, and whom America reckons with pride among the number of the most constant and able defenders of her liberties, when addressing Lafayette, in 1823, in the name of the inhabitants of Union Town, paid a splendid compliment to his generosity towards the Emperor Napoleon.

"But," said he, "the colossus fell: and although his flatterers betrayed and deserted him, you, who resisted him when he was in the summit of his power, alone recollected that you owed to his first victories your delivery from the prisons of Olmütz; and you were one of the first to propose the means of safety which was then sought to be procured for him, and which, perhaps, but for a strange blindness on his part (his prejudice against republican ideas) and the shameless perfidy of his false friends, might have rescued him from the unfortunate fate which awaited him."

patriotism, as the palladium of liberty, had also assured to him a great majority, especially as his character presented a kind of pledge of the most vital importance at that moment, viz: that he would give no uneasiness by any connexion with the adherents of ancient privileges. Gen. Grenier, one of the most respected generals in the army, was the third person elected. The chamber of peers chose Baron Quinette, formerly member of the convention, and the Duke of Vicenza, well known for the freedom with which he treated the Emperor Napoleon. As to the presidency, the choice rested between Carnot and Fouché. The vote of the Duke of Otranto decided the question, which became very important from the influence which he exercised over his colleagues, and by their consigning to him negotiations of the most important nature. It was believed either that the National Guard would nominate its chief as at the commencement of the revolution, or that the choice would be consigned to the assembly. That chief would have been, in either case, the general who created that guard twenty-six years before. The government, however, chose to appoint him to an embassy.

A great majority of the chamber sincerely believed that they saw utility in this decision. Marshal Massena, who had saved France at Zurich and at Genoa, was appointed commandant of the National Guard of Paris.*

Thus, by the influence of Fouché, who had already entered into an understanding with the enemies of France, Lafayette was got out of the way and sent to treat with those enemies for an armistice, they being secretly recommended to detain him until after the capitulation. In this negotiation, the plenipotentiaries supported the rights and honor of France, but they did not obtain the truce they demanded.

The English ambassador having raised doubts respecting the legal character of a chamber convoked by Bonaparte, "I am astonished," replied Lafayette, "that a public man of your country, does not acknowledge that

* When Massena received the congratulatory visits of the National Guard on his appointment, he had the good grace to allude to the wish that was entertained, to see Lafayette in the chief command, as in 1789, and he expressed his determination to walk in his footsteps. Lafayette, for his part, declared to Massena, that he would always be ready to serve him in the capacity of aid-de-camp. Thus it is that public men ought ever to conduct themselves, when the interest of their country demands it.

the authority of a national assembly is derived rather from those who elect, than from him who convokes it."

"And since we have alluded to past times," added Lafayette, "I beg you, my lord, to recollect that, in that very revolution, which I together with you and every Englishman call glorious, the situation of the army of James II., was a little different from that of the French army in its relation to Louis XVIII. James had formed the army; he had fought with it; it owed him allegiance; but that did not prevent the troops and even the favorite of the king, your great Marlborough, from deserting in the night, not indeed to rally under a national banner, but to join a foreign army, prince and flag."

The ambassador being at last requested to declare whether he would accept of peace, on the condition of delivering up Bonaparte to the allies, he replied, "I am surprized, my lord, that in making so odious a proposition to the French nation, you should have addressed yourself to one of the prisoners of Olmutz." He had endeavored, before his departure, to obtain for Napoleon two frigates to conduct him to the United States; but every thing was changed. The plenipotentiaries, on their return, found, as the intriguers intended, the capitulation concluded and the army removed. Lafayette, and his colleagues d'Argenson and Sebastiani, arrived in time to sign their adherence, on the 6th, to that famous declaration, proclaimed the evening before by the chamber of representatives. This important document may, with propriety, find a place here.

**DECLARATION OF THE CHAMBER OF REPRESENTATIVES,
ON THE SITTING OF THE 5th JULY, 1815.**

"The troops of the allied powers are about to occupy the capital.

"The chamber of representatives will nevertheless continue to sit amidst the inhabitants of Paris, where the declared will of the people has called upon them to assemble.

"But at this important juncture, the chamber of representatives owes to itself, to France, and to Europe, a declaration of its sentiments and its principles.

"It accordingly declares that it makes a solemn appeal to the fidelity and to the patriotism of the National Guard

of Paris, which has under its protection the national representation.

"It declares that it places the fullest reliance on the moral principles, honor, and magnanimity of the allied powers, and on their respect for the independence of the nation, so positively expressed in their manifestoes.

"It declares that the government of France, whoever may be at its head, must accord with the wishes of the nation, legally expressed, and ought to co-operate with the other governments to ensure a common pledge, and guarantee of peace between France and Europe.

"It declares that no monarch can offer true guarantees, if he do not swear to abide by a constitution determined on by national representatives, and accepted by the people. Thus, no government will enjoy a permanent existence, or secure the tranquillity of France and Europe, which rests merely on the acclamation or will of a party—which is imposed by force—which does not adopt the national colors, and guarantee ;

The liberty of citizens,

The equality of civil and religious rights,

The liberty of the press,

The liberty of religious worship,

The representative system,

Free assent to the levies of troops and taxes,

The responsibility of ministers,

The irrevocability of the sales of national property of every description,

The inviolability of property,

The abolition of tithes, of the old and new nobility, hereditary succession, and the feudal system,

The abolition of the confiscation of property,

The complete oblivion of political opinions and votes, down to the present day,

The institution of the legion of honor,

The reward due to officers and soldiers,

The pecuniary aid due to their widows,

The institution of the jury,

The irremovability of judges,

The payment of the public debt.

"If the cases mentioned in this declaration should be disavowed or violated, the representatives of the French people, now discharging a sacred duty, protest by anti-

cipation, in the face of the whole world, against the violence and usurpation. They entrust the maintenance of these conditions to all good Frenchmen, to all generous hearts, to all enlightened minds, to all men jealous of their liberty, and to future generations !

Signed,

LANJUINAIS,

President.

BEDOCH, DUMOLARD, and

CLEMENT DE DOUBS, } Secretaries."

When, on the 8th, the chamber was taken possession of, and its members found the doors closed against them, Lafayette asked them to proceed to his house, and from thence two hundred deputies went to the residence of the president Lanjuinais, to sign the following document :

" PROTEST AGAINST THE CLOSING OF THE DOORS OF THE CHAMBER.

" July 18th, 1815, Ten o'clock A. M.

" In the sitting of yesterday on the message by which the committee of the government announced that its functions had ceased, the chamber of representatives proceeded to the order of the day. It afterwards continued its deliberations on the project of a constitutional act, the drawing up of which was expressly recommended to it by the French people. The sitting was then adjourned till 8 o'clock A. M. this day, the 8th of July.

" In pursuance of this adjournment, the members of the chamber of representatives proceeded to the place where these sittings are usually held ; but the doors being closed, the avenues guarded by an armed force, and the officers in command having announced that they had formal orders to refuse the deputies admission,

" The undersigned, members of the chamber, assembled at the house of M. Lanjuinais, their president, where they drew up, and individually signed, this minute, in proof of the facts therein stated."

[Here follow the signatures.]

The committee appointed to present this declaration to the sovereigns not having succeeded in doing so, Lafayette sent it to Count Capo d'Istria. The letter which

contained this inclosure, together with his declaration of adherence, concluded thus :

"Have you had the kindness to speak in behalf of an unfortunate woman,* whose mother behaved to me, during my captivity, in a manner which I can never forget, even although I should now be called a Bonapartist by the powerful enemies of Napoleon. However, neither they nor their ambassadors have ever seen me visit him."

Lafayette afterwards returned to his country seat at La Grange, which he did not quit for a moment, except to propose at an American banquet, his toast to the memory of the American and French soldiers who died in defending their country against foreign invasion.

CHAPTER XXX.

Election of Lafayette as a Member of the Chamber of Deputies.

THE election of M. Lafayette, as a member of the chamber of deputies, during the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, caused a great sensation there. During the performance of his legislative duties as deputy, first for La Sarthe and afterwards for the arrondissement of Meaux, he uniformly and without disguise, defended the principles he had proposed throughout the whole of his life. In 1819, in opposing the resolution of the chamber of peers against the law of election, already so limited and restricted, he moved, "that the institution of trial by jury should be restored with all its protective forms, and that the recall of all banished persons should be the termination of all measures of proscription." He called the municipal system of that period, "an avowed despotism, the feudal system in disguise." He said, "that the institution of the National Guards was the only thing that could have resolved the problem of the alliance of liberty in a great continental state, with the security of its territory and its independence." And he declared, "that the foreign invasion, in 1792, could alone have insured the triumph of anarchy. It was a fatal alliance," he

* Queen Hortense.

added, "the alliance of anarchy, oligarchy, and despotism, which has already been revealed by some of the parties to it, and which history will reveal in still blacker colors." The tumult which prevailed, at the sitting of the 17th of May, having rendered inaudible the various opinions expressed by members respecting the recall of banished persons, Lafayette published his. When speaking that same year on the budget, he maintained, "that the principal object of every country was to be governed as well and as cheaply as possible." He wished the most scrupulous precision with respect to all the articles of the budget; he also required, "that none but Frenchmen should be employed in the public service, and Frenchmen, as long as any such remain, who have fought under their country's banners." Finally, he repeated, in allusion to the National Guard, the three essential conditions of the laws of 1791, "the arming of the nation, the subordination of the armed force to the civil authority, and the appointment of officers by citizens. It is out of this institution, said he, that have arisen those heroic armies, the produce of patriotism and civil equality, whose glorious remains, now that they have returned to their homes, afford an example of domestic virtues and of every sentiment becoming good citizens." In his speech upon that occasion, the following remarkable passage occurs: "The constituent assembly found it impossible to alter any thing without changing all. If the reconstruction was imperfect, the general principles were, whatever may be said of them, very salutary; for, notwithstanding all that was afterwards lost by anarchy, terrorism, the maximum bankruptcy, and civil war—notwithstanding a terrible struggle with all Europe, this incontestible truth is established, viz: that agriculture, industry, and public instruction in France, the comfort and independence of three-fourths of our population, and I say again, public morals, have been improved to a degree of which there is no example in any equal period of history, or in any other part of the old world."

In 1820, Lafayette brought forward a special proposition for the reorganization of the National Guard. "I feel implicit confidence," he said, "in our young army; it will prove itself, when occasion requires, always brave, always patriotic, two essential conditions of honor for the

warriors of a free country. To name our veterans is to retrace their glory and our gratitude. But the country requires a third barrier of our independence and our territory, and an indispensable guarantee of liberty and order, viz: the National Guard." The consideration of this proposition was adjourned.

On the 2d of March, he made use of the following language, whilst defending the right of petition: "Gentlemen, we have heard of *coups-d'état*, and extreme measures; some persons have even condescended to tranquillize our anxiety on this subject; and really, after the French people have alternately exhausted the *coups-d'état* of jacobinism, despotism and aristocracy; when they have been so dearly taught not, in future, to take ordinances for laws, commands for budgets, and despotism for a claim to obedience; such an idea can only excite commiseration for the folly of those who could venture to cherish it. But there is another, and too usual a mode of accomplishing *coups-d'état*, which is, rendering the chambers parties to them."

During the same year, when replying to ministers, who in proposing measures hostile to personal liberty, used the words *pernicious doctrines*, Lafayette observed: "Those expressions have been employed officially by the minister whom I now see before me. Let him be pleased to say whether he alludes to that declaration of principles which gave liberty to the French people, over which the terrorists of 1793 wished that a veil should be drawn, while it was invoked in the name of an oppressed worship, in the first manifesto of the Vendéans, and in the name of suffering mankind in the proclamations of the illustrious and generous city of Lyons. Another minister," said he, "boasted yesterday, of the theory of *flexible doctrines*. He cited his experience. My experience, on the contrary, teaches me that all the evils of France have been produced, less by the perversity of the wicked, and the violence of fools, than by the hesitation of the weak, the compromises of conscience and the tardiness of patriotism. Let every deputy, every Frenchman show what he feels, what he thinks, and we are saved!

"Thanks, then, to those who have spoken before, of all parties, and particularly to my colleague of La Sarthe! The question has been placed in a clear point of view:

on the one hand the past revolution with all its advantages, moral, physical and political ; on the other hand, the counter revolution to come with its privileges and its perils. It is for the chamber, it is for France to choose.

"Gentlemen, thirty years ago, in the assembly of the notables of 1787, I was the first to demand the abolition of *lettres de cachet*: I now vote against their restoration."

On the 23d of March, speaking on the censorship of the press, he made an animated digression on the reports which were circulated respecting projects hostile to Spain, and ended with these remarkable words: "Let the charter be respected; for to violate it would be to dissolve it, to dissolve the mutual guarantees of the nation and the throne, to throw ourselves back to the primitive independence of our rights and duties."

In the sitting of the 17th of May, 1820, he warmly opposed the alterations in the law of elections. "I flattered myself," said he, "that the different parties, yielding at length to the general necessity for liberty and repose, would, by mutual sacrifices, have sought to secure those blessings, by the exercise of the rights which the charter has acknowledged, and by those institutions which were to lead us tranquilly to the possession of all social guarantees. My hope has been disappointed. The counter-revolution is in the government; it is wished to fix it in the chambers. It is the duty of myself and my friends to declare it to the nation.

"Conceiving, also, that the engagements of the charter are founded on reciprocity, I have honestly warned the violators, of broken faith.

"On what," added he, "depends the existence of the charter? Is it religion, or right divine? But several previous acts, issuing from the same source, have for nineteen years invoked the same talisman.

"Is it the promulgation of the 4th of June? But what Frenchman, having a just sense of his rights, did not feel indignant at the formula by which the nation was said to be delivered, at the moment when she replaced the royal standard at the head of her banners, loaded with laurels? Is it because this charter first arrived in the train of foreign armies, and was afterwards brought back by them? But, on the contrary, is there not disadvantage here? It must be acknowledged, gentlemen, if the charter, in spite

of all that had gone before it, in spite of its imperfections, its commentaries, avowed as well as confidential, has really become popular among us, it is because it retracted many counter-revolutionary doctrines, hopes, and declarations; because it was presented by its august author as a guarantee for personal liberty, the liberty of the press, the liberty of religious worship, the equality of rights, the independence of the jury, the inviolability of all property, and as the pledge of a representative system which might render effectual this recent acknowledgment of our rights and the fruits of the revolution.

"Well, gentlemen, what has ensued? The liberty of the press and personal liberty have once more been sacrificed; the organic laws of the municipal system, of the administrative system, of the independence of juries, of the responsibility of the agents of power, which we were informed were all ready last year; and as the king's commissioners say they now are, are obstinately withheld. Government will neither form nor arm the National Guard, which, therefore, has no resource in this moment of danger, but to rise spontaneously.

"Now, gentlemen," continued he, "are we no longer permitted to think that a nation belongs to herself, and is not the property of any one; that in a free country every soldier is the soldier of his country; that we owe obedience only to legal orders, and not to oppression; for despotism, whatever form it may assume, is the most insolent of revolutions, the most scandalous and lasting of public disorders! We have nothing to do with Cicero, the prætors, or the sword of Brennus; though I confess that the minister who wished to overwhelm me with his erudition, might justly have quoted to me, by way of reproach, this line of Lucan, which is engraven on the ruins of the Bastille:

Ignorant ne datos, ne quisquam serviat, enses?"

"But let it not be believed, on the faith of all this declamation, that the promoters of French liberty were only the creators of trouble, because in 1788, at the time when aristocratic sedition was disseminated through the capital and the provinces, by the nobility, clergy and

* It was Lafayette who caused this quotation from Lucan, to be inscribed on the medals of the French guards.

parliaments, they substituted, for so many interested passions, a passion for the public welfare, and for the revolt of the privileged orders, a demand for the rights of the nation. Gentlemen, every member of this chamber has a right to explain himself on a personal fact, on an injurious imputation; and in justice to the memory of my numerous friends, who fell victims to their attachment to the constitutional system, I must here call to mind that after the noble national impulse of 1789 restored the people to their just position, every subsequent irregularity was committed, not only in spite of us, but against us.

"Our adversaries, in whatever rank you may take them, have themselves frequently acknowledged that their safety, their property, and their rights were preserved by that same National Guard which appointed its own officers, which is now described as the instrument of disorder and faction, while, in truth, it was as much a stranger to the other factions, as to that armed emigration, but for which we should have had no 10th of August, no death of the king, no 21st of January, and no reign of terror.

"Gentlemen, we have at all times, and without exception, served the cause of liberty, condemned crime instead of protecting it, repelled intrigue, opposed despotism, anarchy and privileges; and since repeated attacks force me to speak out, since so much is said about factious committees, I may be permitted to mention that we have never, from the very outset, ceased to point out, what indiscreet disclosures have subsequently confirmed: I allude to those counter-revolutionary associations, the auxiliaries of jacobinism at home, which, while abroad the invasion of France is implored, concur with the other categories of perverse or misled disorganizers, to render the revolution odious, by forcing it to deviate from its primitive and generous impulse: take, for example, the troubles of Nismes, in 1790, which were generally attributed to the reprisals of a day, for a century of religious persecution, until, since the restoration, one of the principal instigators of those excesses revealed the secret, by publicly demanding his salary. These seditious associations, under various denominations, sometimes to the great regret of the constitutionalists, took part in their resistance to terrorist oppression, and turned it to the advan-

tage of hostile governments ; sometimes confined themselves to services which I will not name, but which are now recompensed at the expense of the defenders of their country ; and finally, under the imperial system, disappeared without ceasing to be united ; and it would now be easy to ascertain their real condition, if government were pleased to draw aside, from one end of France to the other, the mysterious and blood-stained veil which the spirited petition of M. Madier-Montgan has only partially raised."

Three of the previous speakers having used some disrespectful expressions in reference to the tri-colored flag, Lafayette warmly defended that symbol of emancipation and glory, "which," said he, "Louis XVI. accepted from the hands of the nation, which his successor was proud to bear, and whose least title of honor, is to have floated in every capital, received the homage of every potentate, and to have triumphed over all the most powerful flags of Europe. If I refrain, out of respect to the present time, to retrace a picture of that past regime so boasted, so regretted, it will be sufficient to call to mind that a host of old abuses (here he rapidly enumerated them) and iniquities consecrated by the civil and religious authorities, have vanished in France and in other parts of Europe, before that national standard, which, in its origin, was, I am proud to repeat, *the flag of liberty, equality, and public order.*"

In the session of 1821, during a discussion on the different parts of the budget : "The public debt of the state," said he, "whatever be its origin, is sacred. Like you, I regret its increase, but without accusing either the errors of the first restoration, which brought about the 20th of March, or the fatal landing at Cannes, which mingled with the movements of a resistance more salutary and less alarming ; or the conditions of the last treaty of peace exclusively stipulated between the powers at war with France and the august ally of those powers, I shall confine myself to drawing from the past a great lesson for the future : which is, that it would have cost much less, as I then said, to expel the foreign coalition than to bargain with it ; that if ever those unfortunate circumstances should recur, and if, following the example of Napoleon and the provisional government, the govern-

ment of France should hesitate to raise the whole nation, it will be the duty of the nation itself spontaneously to take up arms, and assemble the millions of her youth, to crush the violators of her independence.

"The civil list," he added, "was voted for the duration of the present reign; but when, in consequence of encroachments and dilapidations, a personal income of forty millions is deemed insufficient for the monarch and his family, I may be permitted to refer, (not to the country which possesses ten millions of population, and in which the salary of the chief of the state does not equal that of a French minister,) but to the monarchical, aristocratic and expensive government of England, where, though the pensions of the princes are smaller than in France, and more than half the civil list is appropriated to the payment of the ministers, the diplomatic body and the judges, the sum of which the king has to render any account, does not exceed fifty or a hundred thousand francs.—As to the remainder of what is destined for royal expenditure, the accounts are annually submitted to parliament, with such scrupulous regularity, that, according to a law proposed by the celebrated Burke, any of the king's tradesmen who neglect to send in their bills within three months, shall forfeit their right of claim."

On another occasion, he complained of "the sudden irruption of a number of claimants to rewards, for having, in fact or intention, on foreign hire, or in internal insurrection, openly or in obscurity, and even in imperial liveries, manifested or disguised their opposition to governments which, after being each flattered in its turn, are now styled illegitimate. Thus, by the deviations and temporary apostacy of a revolution of liberty and equality, we are likely for some years to come, to see Europe burthened with two complete sets of dynasties, of noble and privileged orders. * * * * *

"I ask," he said, "whether we ought in conscience to support, by our pecuniary votes, a scandalously expensive government, the measures of which are evidently contrary to the rights and wishes of almost all tax-payers, who, of course, pay their money with the view of being served honestly and for the national interest.

"Our system of criminal justice," he observed, "must also be denounced. Its preliminary proceedings, con-

trived by the most artful despotism, have reduced the law of *lettre de cachet* to a mere luxury of tyranny. The excessive severity of our criminal code is acknowledged by all, even those who, notwithstanding the fallacy of human judgment, and after the many judicial murders we have personally to deplore, do not concur in my wish for the abolition of the punishment of death. Finally, the title of jury, impudently employed at our assizes, is but a pitiable abuse of terms: if the constituent assembly did not adopt the motion for the adoption of the English and American jury in all its purity, it was at least with the intention of improving it, whatever may have been said in this assembly with a singular ignorance of facts, men, and doctrines. All ulterior modifications, however, have been planned in a spirit of enmity to the institution itself.

"Our present diplomacy," he again observed, "is an absolute incongruity. In fact, gentlemen, the system, the agents, the language, all appear to me to be foreign to renovated France. She is subjected to doctrines she had overthrown, powers she has conquered, habits contracted in the train of her enemies, and obligations for which she has only, on her part, to blush. However, Europe, thirty years ago, was summoned by us to liberty; and awed, it must be confessed, by our excesses and the abuse of our victories, has resumed, and will continue, in spite of recent misfortunes, that great march of civilization, at the head of which France has her place assigned, and there nations already free, or aspiring to become so, will not seek her in vain.

"Gentlemen," said he, in the same speech, "the crimes and disasters which we all execrate and deplore, are no more to be set down to the account of the revolution, than the massacre of St. Bartholomew is to be laid to the charge of religion, or the eighteen thousand judicial murders of the Duke of Alba, to that of monarchy. The revolution was the emancipation and development of the human faculties, and the restoration of nations. This is so true, that the friends of liberty have always been and still are, hated by the adversaries of the revolution, in proportion to the efforts they have made to prevent it being sullied by crimes and excesses.

"Yes, gentlemen, let the enemies of our cause endeavor to extract hypocritical arguments from our misfortunes,

as they have long founded upon them unworthy hopes; let them excuse or deny, as they please, the aristocratic reactions through which they before designed to execute fearful reprisals! As in 1815, they endeavored to stifle, in this capital, the popular voice which denounced the massacres of the west, so also the outrages of the past year found apologists, even among the first personages of the state. For our part, despising, as we have always done, in our patriotic hatred of crime, that weakness which would compound with her, by drawing a distinction of victims and of periods, we must assign all these atrocities to the unworthy or furious passions which have produced them. But never, at any time, under any pretext, or from whatever quarter the imputations or apologies may come, will we submit to see perfidiously and voluntarily confounded the crimes of faction, the errors of a generation escaping from the old system with all the benefits of the revolution, the imprescriptible rights of human reason, and the pure intentions and incontestible principles of the invariable defenders of liberty, and the declared adversaries of all oppression."

In rendering homage to the French navy and its seamen, he observed that the truly French sentiments of the latter would have been applauded by the immortal crew of the *Vengeur*; he compared the expense of the French department of the marine with that of the navy of the U. States, "whose fleet," he added, "since its creation, and during two very severe wars against Great Britain, with equal, and often with inferior force, never once failed to gain the advantage."

Speaking of the minister of war, "have a care," said he, "that, by dint of breaking and ruining officers, you do not make all the rest believe that the Coblenz party cannot reconcile itself to the recollection of that glory, for the destruction of which they so long prayed; that regret is cherished for the time when regiments were formed by recruiters, and claims to office specified by genealogists, or that still more remote period when campaign plans were traced out in the apartments of the king's mistress. A French army must doubtless be kept in subordination; but you will never prevent its being intelligent and national."

Provoked by fresh expressions of regret at the destruc-

tion of the old system, Lafayette drew the following picture of it: "Then disappeared that clerical corporation, which, while it exercised every description of influence, and refused to pay any share of public contribution, was incessantly increased. No part of its immense wealth was ever alienated; but all was distributed in its own class, in an inverse ratio to labor. The law was a party in the exaction of vows, too often compulsory, and France was covered with monastic orders, devoted to foreign chiefs. The clergy levied at once the contributions of opulence and mendicity; and in its secular organization, was so wholly devoted to worldly indolence, that the laboring ministers were but an insignificant portion of what was called the first order of the state.

"We saw the disappearance of that corporation of sovereign courts, in which the power of judging was venal by law, and hereditary and noble in fact; and in which feudal judges were chosen and revocable by their lords; and in which the diversity of codes and the jurisprudence of decrees made a cause be lost in one court, which would have been gained in another; in which every plaintiff, by purchasing the most insignificant place about court, could drag the adverse party from the furthest extreme of the kingdom to Paris; in which all the grievances arising out of *esprit de corps* were multiplied by the dependence of a host of lawyers; in which all rational ideas, all useful discoveries, were formally proscribed; and which, even in a just cause, could not resist the express command of the king, except by a denial of justice to the public.

"We beheld the overthrow of that financial corporation impoverishing France to the uttermost by fiscal farming. This monstrous institution exceeded in expenditure and profits, the receipts of the royal treasury. Its vast code, which no where existed in a collected form, was an occult science which its agents alone had the power or means of interpreting, and which, by constantly putting a price on perjury and domestic treachery, exercised on all unprotected men a despotism boundless and unrestrained. This is the way in which Malesherbes spoke of it to Louis XVI., in the remonstrance of the *Cour des Aides*, in 1775.

"There was also seen the obliteration of those de-

structions of French provinces, conquered provinces, nominally foreign provinces, and provinces of estates or election. All these were surrounded by a double circle of excise officers and smugglers, whose intestine warfare recruited the prisons, the galleys and the gibbet, at the fancy of the agents of the farmers-general. We saw the subversion of those other distinctions of property, noble and ignoble, presenting different degrees of feudal domination, vassalage and servitude. The parks and gardens of the rich man paid nothing, whilst the field and the person of the poor man were taxed in proportion to his industry; the socages and the law of franc-fief incessantly reminded the citizens that their degradation was not only territorial but personal.

"Then was consecrated that constitutional equality which confines itself to founding, on general utility, the distinctions laid down by the law. The privileged caste gradually lost the right of dispensing exclusion and contempt on the rest of their fellow-citizens. No Frenchman was unqualified for public employment, because he was not noble; none were reckoned dishonored because they exercised useful professions; a fatal prejudice, which debarred the majority of families from a share in the public prosperity, just in proportion as they supplied the means of increasing it.

"What then have we to regret? Is it to be the system of taxation, imposed by the king in accordance with the fancy of a finance minister, a system I have seen changed twelve times in fourteen years, arbitrarily imposed on the provinces, and I may add, arbitrarily upon individuals? For, with the exception of some districts with estates, and of the two assemblies called by M. Necker, which a well known piece of treachery* did not allow him time to extend to the other provinces, the power of the intendants was only modified in 1778.

"Is it the capitulation established in 1702, which was to have finished at the peace, but which was always prolonged? or the two-twentieths ostensibly imposed upon the rich, but levied on the poor? or the tax which in Auvergne was fixed at nine sous in the pound, and which was raised to fourteen, *principally in consequence of the*

* The communication to the members of parliament of a memorial to the king, signed by M. Necker to Monsieur, (Louis XVIII.)

*number of privileged individuals, which increased daily by the traffic in offices?** or lastly, is it the laws which press so heavily on articles of consumption, laws similar to, but more odious than the *droits reunis* of Napoleon?

"Is it the criminal jurisprudence under which the accused could neither see his family, his friends, his counsel, nor a copy of the indictment? When delivered over to a magistrate, who made it his only merit to extort confession, he was merely confronted with the witnesses who were previously interrogated in secret, and who could retract nothing without incurring the penalty of perjury. Condemned upon the deposition of a witness in an inferior tribunal, he was dragged to the parliament court, sometimes more than one hundred leagues from his dwelling place, and to the grand chamber, if he were a gentleman. There, upon the same indictment and the report of a counsel, the *sellette* or stool for the prisoner being an insulting superfluity, he received sentence, obscured as it was by the vague forms in which the *facts resulting from the case* were set forth. This sentence might be aggravated, at the option of the judges, by the infliction of the torture; for at that time, only torture before the trial had been abolished. You know, gentlemen, the barbarous variety of punishments, thus in use from the cross and the wheel, to these execrable tortures of which I will spare you the description.

"Have we to regret the religious intolerance which doomed a great portion of the population to a state of legal concubinage, to bastardism and disinheritance; or that legislative violation of all the laws of nature and morality, which Louis XIV. established, and which the illustrious prelate, Bossuet, styled *the work worthy of his reign, the most assured sign, as well as the finest enactment of his authority*?† The bishops, in 1751-52, demanded its execution, *by the judgment of the commandant or intendant, without the form or figure of a trial*. Such was the legal doctrine from the period of the decree of the council of 1684, *which debarred all private persons from receiving into their houses any sick person of the protestant religion, under the pretext of charity*, down to

* Report of the tax committee, of the provincial assembly of Auvergne, drawn up by M. M. the Marquis de la Querrière, the Bishop of St. Flour, &c., Dec. 1787.

† Funeral oration of the Chancellor Tellier

the decision of the council of Louis XVI., when, in opposition to the advice of Turgot and Malesherbes, the oath to exterminate the heretics was taken at his coronation. The condition of the protestants was bettered by the edict of the king in 1780; I remember it the more distinctly, because, in the preceding year, I had the honor of seeing adopted in a committee, at which the second brother of the king presided, the first official admission of their civil rights; but even then this half-tolerance was considered a revolutionary innovation.

“Have we to regret the ecclesiastical and seigniorial imports, which, levied on the lowest results of labor, were a burthen three-fold heavier upon the increase of the land-owners than what was taken away in raw produce? Are we to regret the burdensome and humiliating feudal duties, whether they were collected in kind or replaced by a tribute which indicated their origin? Are we to regret the laws which bound the vassals to feudal services; the laws of the chase; the captainships, which delivered up the crops to the voracity of the game, and the labors of the field to the caprices and extortions of the guards; or the penalties amounting to condemnation for life to the galleys, which were dispensed in a tribunal nominated by the captain, who pronounced judgment on the bare statement of the accuser? Have we to regret the *lettres de cachet* given blank to the ministers, the commandants and the intendants? or the decrees of supersedies, which absolved the courtiers from the payment of their debts; or the evocations of law suits; or the substitutions and customs by which children were sacrificed to a collateral, and whole families to an elder relative? Have we to regret the sinecures, the reversions, and all that multiplicity of abuses and oppressions which find a place in written history, and even to this day in the memory of all our cotemporaries, foreign as well as national, who have directed any attention to the government of France?

“Frenchmen, such was the old government, the destruction of which has secured for you advantages which are only as little to be perceived as the benefits of the air you breathe; a system whose re-establishment was the avowed object of the emigrants at Coblenz and of the coalition at Pilnitz, and whose spirit has never ceas-

ed to animate that government of the court, more or less occult, in whose eyes ministers are as nothing, and who, in 1814, said officially: 'Let us enjoy the present, I will answer for the future.'**

In the session of 1822, Lafayette spoke against the jurisprudence of the penal code: "Instead," said he, "of the unanimity required in England and the United States, instead of the five-sixths fixed by the constituent assembly, a simple majority is now considered sufficient to constitute the magistrate charged with the application of the law, a party in the verdict, and thus making him a judge of fact as well as of law. This is the circumstance which militates against the very essence of the institution of juries. Some honest statesmen, impressed with the fallacy of human judgments, have urged the abolition of the punishment of death, and there has hardly been, these thirty years, a case of condemnation for political offences, in which the judges have not afterwards heartily wished, (whether owing to the bitterness of remorse or the reaction of retaliations,) heartily wished to recall, at any price, the life that had been taken. Yet we find persons still to compliment us in our possession of a penal code, the subtleties and severity of which, must disturb the consciences of its administrators, while it menaces all parties in turn, and contains that system of confession, which was worthy the conception of Tiberius, which was revived by Louis XI. and Cardinal Richelieu, and which is now more frequently resorted to in our tribunals, than it has ever been at any former period of our history.

"The counter-revolution," added he, "being master of all the powers of the state, all the institutions, and all the channels of influence, sustained as it is by the coalition of all the despots of Europe, all the aristocratic interests, every prejudice and every abuse; in a word, upheld by whatever is at variance with true social order, endeavors still to blind the people to the positive advantages they owe to the revolution. By an imprudent anticipation, the partizans of the old government have now begun to wound the dignity of the citizens, and to show before the time, that hatred of equality which was ever their ruling passion.

"But the counter-revolution successively attacks all

* Reply of the Count d'Artois to a deputation of the National Guard.

guarantees, and it is well that the French people should be aware that, after the destruction of those conservative guarantees which you will not and can not longer defend, it will be declared, as it was at Pilnitz and Coblenz, that all the advantages gained over the old system by the national revolution of 1789 were illegal, transient and revocable usurpations."

In the session of 1823, Lafayette was one of those who denounced, with patriotic indignation, the determination to declare war against the Spanish constitution; a determination which had been stigmatized as a calumny in the speech from the throne of the preceding year, but avowed in the speech of that year. When his friend Manuel was violently expelled from the chamber of deputies, Lafayette retired with sixty of his colleagues, and signed the protest which he had unsuccessfully proposed to the chamber, and which openly declared that the public taxes having become illegal by the violation of the liberty of the chamber, their payment was not obligatory.

The freedom of Lafayette's declarations, both former and recent, the appeal he made in the chamber to the *patriotism and energy of the French people*, perhaps also the recollection of a remark made by the Archbishop of Sens, in the council of the king, in 1788: "That he, (Lafayette,) was their most dangerous antagonist, because his logic consisted in action;" all these circumstances, joined to others less publicly known, furnished a pretence for directing against him weighty accusations. His enemies had already implicated him in some law proceedings, at least as a witness, and it was on one of those occasions, that he protested against the title of *marquis*, which the president of the tribunal had applied to him, declaring that that title was no longer his, after the decree of the constituent assembly of the 17th June, 1790.

But in 1823, a more positive accusation was brought against him, at the suit of the *procureur du roi*, Mangin, who pretended to have proof against Lafayette, and who, in the excess of his monarchical zeal, uttered the famous declaration: "Ah! were I but his judge!"*

* The special accusation here alluded to, was not exactly correct. But it is true that, in the celebrated affair of Bedford, which miscarried by a mere chance, Lafayette was no stranger to the conspiracy. He and his son, responding to an

Those of his colleagues who were likewise implicated, less deeply it is true, in the Mangin denunciation, demanded, in the tribune, justice against the calumny. It was on this occasion that M. Lafitte, in stigmatizing the atrocious wish of the procureur-general, applied to him the merited epithet of *purveyor to the guillotine*. Lafayette, disdaining on his part, all denial of the fact, mounted the tribune merely to make the following remarkable observations: "In spite of my habitual indifference to party accusations and animosities, I still think myself bound to add a few words to what has fallen from my honorable friends. During the whole course of a life entirely devoted to the cause of liberty, I have constantly been an object of attack to the enemies of that cause, under whatever form, despotic, aristocratic, anarchic, they have endeavored to combat it. I do not complain, then, because I observe some affectation in the use of the word *proved*, which the procureur-general has employed against me. But I join my honorable friends in demanding a public inquiry, within the walls of the chamber and in the face of the nation; there I and my adversaries, to whatever rank they belong, may declare without reserve, all that we have mutually had to reproach each other with, for the last thirty years."

Lafayette's adversaries, of the highest rank, recoiled before this challenge, and the accusation was no longer agitated.

By dint of intrigues and electoral frauds, which have since been acknowledged, the Villelle ministry succeeded in preventing Lafayette's election to the chamber, denominated *septennial*. The circumstance was fortunate; for the interval of parliamentary repose permitted him to gratify the wish he had long entertained of revisiting America, that scene of his youthful glory, whither he was invited by the pressing solicitation of a people eager to declare him one of the founders of their independence.

His connexion with the United States and his zeal to serve them, never relaxed. "We ministers, in Europe," said Jefferson, in a recent speech, "placed the nail, and

appeal made to them by many patriots, and even by some corps in the army, incurred dangers from which good fortune alone saved them. It is but just, however, to add that before taking this step, Lafayette had denounced in the tribune the violations of the charter, and frankly declared, that in his opinion, those violations reduced us to a primitive independence as regarded our rights and duties

Lafayette drove it in." At the period of the revolution, he received the congratulations of his paternal friend Washington. At Mount Vernon, the principal key of the Bastile, conveyed thither by Lafayette, is kept in a glass case. The directory had occasion to acknowledge, in consequence of an intercepted letter of the illustrious Hamilton, that even during his proscription, Lafayette endeavored to extenuate the errors of the French government and to assimilate the two countries.

Though in his letter addressed to Archenholtz, from his prison at Olmutz, he wrote: "America, that country dear to my heart, will behold me again with joy;" yet when President Jefferson pressed him to accept the provisional government of Louisiana, and when urgent invitations were addressed to him from all parts of the United States, he was detained in Europe by the feeling which lately brought him back: the hope of being useful to liberty and to his country.

"Your proposition," replied he to President Jefferson,* "offers all the advantages of dignity, wealth and security, and I do not feel less warmly than I have done these thirty years past, the desire of advancing with American liberty in its progress over all the continent. But you, my dear friend, you also know and share my wishes for French, and consequently for European liberty. In America the cause of mankind is gained and secured; nothing can arrest, change, or sully its progress. Here all regard it as lost and without hope. But for me to pronounce that sentence, to proclaim it as it were by a final expatriation, would be a concession so contrary to my sanguine nature, that unless I were absolutely forced, I know not the land, however disadvantageous, and still less can I imagine the hope, however unpromising, which I could totally and irrevocably abandon. This is perhaps after all but a weakness of the heart, but in spite of the usurpations of uncontrolled power, and in the event of its overthrow—amidst the dangers of jacobinism excited to rage, and the still greater dangers of a royal aristocracy, more absurd, though not less sanguinary, I do not despair of obtaining modifications less unfavorable to the dignity and liberty of my countrymen. When I

* Extract of a letter, dated 16th Vendémiaire, 8th October, 1804, published since the death of his illustrious friend.

consider the prodigious influence of French doctrines upon the future destinies of the world, I think it will not be right in me, one of the promoters of that revolution, to admit the impossibility of beholding it, even in our time, re-established on its true basis of a generous, a virtuous, in a word, an American liberty."

CHAPTER XXXI.

Lafayette's journey to the United States, in 1824-25.

IN February, 1824, the President of the U. States transmitted to Gen. Lafayette an unanimous resolution of the two houses of congress, expressing "the attachment of the whole nation, which ardently desired to see him again." A seventy-four gun-ship, the North-Carolina, was directed to sail as soon as he should name the time of his visit; but Lafayette, accompanied by his son and his secretary, embarked on board a packet-ship, the Cadmus, and arrived in the bay of New-York on the 25th of August.

To dwell on the details of his journey through all the states of the Union, would be a useless repetition of what has been published in all the periodicals of that time. I may be permitted to close this short chapter with some brief reflections: I would ask, what was the aim of this journey? Gratitude for past services on the one side, and attachment and sincere friendship on the other. This surely was as it should be: but was *gratitude* the only moving cause of this invitation? and if so, could both parties really enjoy the benefits of this reunion? Was it possible that long speeches, large dinners, fine set toasts and so called sentiments, drank in Champaign, Madeira and Burgundy; military parades and music, and all the noisy and pompous demonstrations so commonly used in Europe, to receive all those wretched beings who by the grace of God, or rather the force of their bayonets, prescribe such receptions? can these noisy demonstrations be called true expressions of gratitude and friendship? And who was the object of all this bustle? A man who, as former of La Grange, had long

preferred a quiet and unostentatious life, at an age, sixty-eight, when all the vanities and the show of the great world had passed like the illusions of a magic lantern before his eyes. I think that if we put gratitude and friendship in one scale, and in the other the strong tendency towards show, ostentation, and even vanity, we might find a heavy and overwhelming weight in favor of the latter. I appeal to the feelings of every impartial man, and would ask, if he would receive a long expected and dear friend in such an ostentatious manner?

The heavy expenses of Lafayette's stay; his large dinner parties; the journeys of a hundred committees, named to accompany the Nation's Guest from one place or one state to another; the time lost by so many individuals, who formed his escorts; thousands of militiamen, ordered to join their corps from a great distance; the governors, members of assemblies, mayors, common councils, and the numberless crowd who surrounded him every where; could they afford or receive real satisfaction from Lafayette's society? Hundreds and thousands among them rode before, behind, or on each side of Lafayette's coach, often at the risk of breaking their necks, covered with dust or mud; and after the utmost exertions of steed and rider to observe their ranks and files, they arrive at last at the place appointed for breakfast, dinner, or lodging, exhausted and fatigued. But before they could enjoy rest and comfort, the whole procession was stopped by the important and long receptional speech of the mayor, or president of a common council, who, in spite of the hunger and fatigue of Lafayette, was telling him, in fine and well-studied phrases, *how gloriously happy they felt to receive the good, the great, the venerated Lafayette!* Having done, they bowed or shouted *a long and happy life to our beloved hero!* But they did not move and make room for the hero; no, the latter received not his passport till he alighted from his barouche of four, or delivered, in standing up from his seat, some complimentary acknowledgements of the kindness and honor shown him! Lafayette at last is permitted to arrive at the destined resting place, where a new committee of arrangements deliver new speeches; the crowd rushes from every quarter; the one is an old companion, the other the son or grandson of an aid-de-

camp, an officer or a landlord of the marquis* when in America; all and every one anxious to be noticed. The escort dismounted, have the distinguished honor to shake hands with the Nation's Guest, and this done, they return home!

When in the city of New-York, I was regularly, every morning, early, along with Lafayette in his bed-chamber; and while he dressed himself, I remained with him to talk over past times until breakfast, where I was the only guest invited. Lafayette knew my natural dislike to show, and had the kindness to gratify my desire. He invited me many times to come and dine with him, which I did but once, for the reason already mentioned. One day, nevertheless, he insisted, obligingly, that I should come. "Come, come to-day; I have no engagement; we will dine *en famille et alors nous causerons*." I went, but when I entered the saloon de compagnie of Lafayette's apartments, in the city hotel, I perceived that the *famille* was a little too large. I found the room crowded at the hour appointed for dinner. I looked in, started back, and was already on the first step to go down and return home, when I heard my name called aloud. It was Lafayette himself, who, standing in the midst of the saloon, had seen me and my quickly starting back. He urged me to return with him, saying that a few moments before, a numerous delegation had arrived from Pennsylvania to welcome him. "You know perfectly well," said he to me, "that I am at the disposition of the committee of arrangements; but come and remain with us; I will present you to these gentlemen," &c. I declined, nevertheless, saying that I came not to see *General* Lafayette, but my *friend* Lafayette; and that necessarily, in such a large assembly, we could not enjoy each other's company, and that he surely would excuse me, knowing perfectly well my great aversion for show and parade dinners. He smiled, and said, "Well, well, I see you are always the same; you are right; but come to-morrow morning early, and then we can talk more freely together."

In calculating the great expenses of individuals, common councils and states; in observing the rivalry which existed amongst them, to surpass each other in show,

* Name usually given him at that time.

ostentation, and costly festivals; in joining these large sums to the two hundred thousand dollars in cash and the township in Florida, presented to Lafayette; the expenses of the two men-of-war, &c. we can easily estimate the large amount expended for the reception of one single individual. It is true, this person was the beloved, the good Lafayette; and perhaps some hundred thousand more might not have been adequate to his past services, which can never be paid in money or land. But while we spent these hundreds of thousands of dollars *exclusively* for him, we forgot suitably to provide for the many thousand worthy, ruined, crippled and mutilated veterans of our revolutionary war, who, since 1783, had expected in vain the just reward of their deeds and patriotism. Some of these worthy and highly respectable men, whilst they came to welcome Lafayette, and to shake hands with him, had perhaps not a piece of bread for themselves and their numerous families! Why did we not decree that "these revolutionary soldiers should receive their portion of national gratitude, in cash and land, as well as Lafayette, and *at the same time*, instead of rewarding magnificently the one, and dismissing the others with long speeches devoid of liberal principles and gratitude?

Here lies true vanity in ambush; and this deserves to be recorded in the annals of this part of Lafayette's life. If my frank and plain language, which I believe to be the language of truth, shall be productive of any good for the future, my only object will have been accomplished.

When the government of the United States invited Lafayette, they knew perfectly well that the eyes of the whole world would be directed towards America, and therefore they endeavored to do some extraordinary deed on this so extraordinary occasion. In this lies the true key of our action.

The following are the official documents relating to this memorable voyage:

AN ACT CONCERNING GENERAL LAFAYETTE.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That, in consideration of the services and

sacrifices of General Lafayette, in the War of the Revolution, the Secretary of the Treasury be, and he is hereby, authorized to pay to him the sum of Two Hundred Thousand Dollars, out of any money in the treasury not otherwise appropriated.

Sec. 2. And be it further enacted, That there be granted to the said General Lafayette and his heirs, one township of land; to be laid out and located under the authority of the President, on any of the unappropriated lands of the United States.

H. CLAY,

Speaker of the House of Representatives.

JOHN GAILLARD,

President of the Senate, pro. tem.

WASHINGTON: Approved, Dec. 28, 1824.

JAMES MONROE.

Mr. Smith, from the joint committee appointed to announce to General Lafayette the passage of the act in his favor, and to request his acceptance of the provision made for him, reported to the senate the following copy of an address of the committee to the general, and his reply:

From the Joint Committee to General Lafayette.

GENERAL: We are a committee of the senate and house of representatives, charged with the office of informing you of the passage of an act, a copy of which we now present. You will perceive from this act, sir, that the two houses of congress, aware of the large pecuniary, as well as other sacrifices, which your long and arduous devotion to the cause of freedom has cost you, have deemed it their privilege to reimburse a portion of them, as having been incurred in part on account of the United States. The principles that have marked your character will not permit you to oppose any objection to the discharge of so much of the national obligation to you as admits of it. We are directed to express to you the confidence, as well as the request, of the two houses, that you will, by an acquiescence with their wishes in this respect, add another to the many and signal proofs you have afforded of your esteem for a people whose esteem for you can never cease until they have ceased to prize the liberty they enjoy, and emulate the virtues by which it was acquired. We have only to subjoin an expres-

sion of our gratification in being the organs of this communication, and of the distinguished personal respect with which we are,

Your obedient servants,

SAMUEL SMITH,
ROBT. Y. HAYNE,
D. BOULIGNY,

Committee of the Senate.

WM. S. ARCHER,
S. VAN RENSSELAER,
PHILIP S. MARKLEY,

Committee of the House of Representatives.

Washington, January 1, 1825.

GENERAL LAFAYETTE'S REPLY.

Washington, January 1, 1825.

Gentlemen of the Committee of both Houses of Congress :

The immense and unexpected gift which, in addition to former and considerable bounties, it has pleased congress to confer upon me, calls for the warmest acknowledgements of an old and American soldier, and adopted son of the United States ; two titles dearer to my heart than all the treasures of the world.

However proud I am of every sort of obligation received from the people of the United States and their representatives in congress, the large extent of this benefaction might have created in my mind feelings of hesitation, not inconsistent, I hope, with those of the most grateful reverence. But the so very kind resolution of both houses, delivered by you, gentlemen, in terms of equal kindness, precludes all other sentiments but those of the lively and profound gratitude of which, in respectfully accepting the munificent favor, I have the honor to beg you will be the organ.

Permit me, also, gentlemen, to join a tender of my affectionate personal thanks to the expression of the highest respect, with which I have the honor to be,

Your obedient servant,

LAFAYETTE.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Lafayette's return to France—Revolution of July, 1830—Lafayette appointed to the command of the National Guard.

LAFAYETTE landed at Havre, where the inhabitants received him with enthusiasm, as well as at Rouen, in spite of the interference of the authorities and a charge of the gendarmerie. He hastened to La Grange, where he commenced again his agricultural occupations. He was at various times elected a member of the chamber of deputies; and, during the session of 1828, he delivered many remarkable speeches, in one of which, June 23d, he remarked as follows :

“ National education, gentlemen, and above all, elementary education, that great spring of public intelligence, moral conduct and popular tranquillity, is now the principal want of the French people, as it is the principal debt government owes to them. You know, gentlemen, how that debt has been acquitted. Systems of public instruction have hitherto been patronized in an inverse ratio to their merit. Neither your pitiable fifty thousand francs, nor even five hundred thousand francs, will suffice to fulfil that great social duty. For the support of a good and honest system of public education, it appears to me that five millions would be the most praiseworthy item in the budget.”

How applicable are these remarkable words to our present defective school-system, and the inadequate funds for the maintenance of schools !

Lafayette also recommended the re-organization of the National Guards, and quoted the ordinance of 9th March, 1815, wherein it is said that a National Guard, consisting of three millions of fund-holders, land-owners and manufacturers, constitutes a local force universally diffused.

After the session of 1829, he made a journey to his birth place, Chavignac, in Auvergne, where he was received by the greater part of his family. Wherever he went, a crowd of people surrounded and welcomed him. Public dinners and festivals were given in honor of him,

and his reception at Grenoble and Lyons was of the most brilliant and distinguished nature. From the latter place he returned directly to La Grange.

Charles X. issued his famous ordinances which caused the revolution of July, 1830. The first of these ordinances pronounced the dissolution of the chamber previously to its meeting : the second annulled the electoral laws then existing ; reduced the number of deputies from four hundred and thirty to two hundred and fifty-eight ; left the *arrondissement* colleges only the right of presenting candidates ; abolished the secrecy of votes, the intervention of the third estate, and the jurisdiction of the royal courts in matters of election ; the third convoked the new colleges for the 6th and 18th of September, and the chambers for the 25th of the same month : lastly, the fourth ordinance abrogated the laws by which the liberty of the press was guarded, and restored to vigor the dispositions of the 21st October, 1814, in virtue of which law, no periodical journal could appear without being previously authorized by the government. The ordinance of the 26th July decreed, moreover, that the presses and type of the journals convicted of disobedience, should be seized, or rendered unserviceable, which is to destroy !

These ordinances, the work of a madman, (Charles X.,) appeared in the *Moniteur* of the 26th July. The journalists, joined by some courageous deputies, held various assemblies and determined to resist tyranny. Hostilities between the people and the royal troops, which had commenced on the evening of the 27th, were renewed early on the 28th, and then assumed the character of unity of action and tenacity of purpose, which announced a war, whose issue must be life or death to the liberties of France.

Lafayette was absent from Paris when the ordinances appeared. The *Moniteur* of the 26th reached him at La Grange, on the morning of the 27th. On the same evening, he offered the insurgent patriots the support of his name and his person. At four in the morning, a deputation from the students of the Polytechnic school had met at his house, and some hours later, all that swarm of young heroes were fighting and dying at the head of the people, in every quarter of the capital.

The deputies assembled at M. Audry de Puyraveau's. Lafayette and Lafitte arrived first at the meeting. In this, the former proposed the immediate appointment of a provisional government, which was adopted. M. Périer proposed sending a mission to the Duke de Ragusa, to obtain a truce from him, during which the deputies might carry their grievances to the foot of the throne; but Lafayette demanded that they should simply order Marmont, in the name of the law, and on his personal responsibility, to cause the firing to cease. The committee was, however, appointed. Lafayette declared to his colleagues that his name was already placed at the head of the insurrection; that he was ardently desirous of obtaining their assent to his determination, but that, be that as it might, he considered himself pledged to establish his head-quarters at Paris on the morrow.

At another meeting, held at eight in the evening, Lafayette demanded that, putting an end to such disgraceful tergiversation, the deputies present in Paris, in full costume and mounting the tri-colored cockade, should manfully place themselves at the head of the people. Sebastiani and Mechin still presumed to talk of legal order, of mediation and concessions to be obtained from Charles X.! This wicked hesitation, in a moment when streams of blood filled the streets of Paris; when the patriots asked with loud cries for a government and a leader, raised the indignation of Lafayette, who hastily rose and demanded of his colleagues what post they assigned him in the name of the country, for he was ready to assume it on the instant. The dissenters had retreated; and the patriotic deputies, reduced to five, Messrs. Lafayette, De Laborde, Lafitte, Mauguin and Audry de Puyraveau, resolved gloriously to raise the tri-colored standard, and separated under agreement to meet again at five in the morning, at Lafitte's: it was now midnight.

Lafayette devoted this night to the inspection of the barricades, and could not withhold his expressions of admiration of the skill of these fortifications.

The battle was renewed at daybreak; Lafayette, returning to his hotel through the *Rue de Surène*, was, for some moments, impeded there by the royalist corps, who fired indiscriminately on all who made their appearance. The general was fortunate enough to escape the danger,

and afterwards taking advantage of a retrograde movement, effected by one of the enemy's posts, lost no time in repairing to M. Lafitte's. Cannon and musketry thundered in every street contiguous with that which Lafayette was traversing on foot. The populace confined the joyful acclamations of *vive Lafayette* to a whisper, lest they should point him out to the vengeance of Charles X.'s soldiers, and eagerly opened their shops, that the barricades might offer no obstruction to his progress. In this manner, after encountering a thousand dangers and a thousand testimonies of the popular solicitude, the general at length reached M. Lafitte's hotel, where he found assembled many of his colleagues and several deputations of brave citizens, who waited to conduct him to the Hotel de Ville, recently re-conquered and definitely occupied by the patriots.

Innumerable partial skirmishes had recommenced with the dawn, and, with the exception of the Hotel de Ville, the avenues of the Place de Gréve and the Boulevards, St. Denis and St. Martin, from whence the enemy had been repulsed over night, the combat was general on every point which had been the theatre of struggle during the 28th.

Around the barricades, in the streets, in the houses, and on the porticoes of churches, were re-enacted those deeds of heroism which had so gloriously distinguished the two preceding days. Women were seen hurling from the windows paving stones, furniture and flaming brands, in defiance of the balls which were flying to strike them beside the cradles of their infants. Children joined in the contest, creeping under the horses, to feel with the point of a foil for the termination of the enemy's cuirass, and thus killing those iron-clad soldiers whose weight alone was sufficient to crush their pigmy opponents.

To contrast with these prodigies of valor, how many were the acts of generosity and humanity! The enemy wounded or a prisoner, was no longer an enemy, but a brother whom the people confounded with their defenders, and on whom they lavished equal solicitude. Numbers of excellent women thronged the houses and the streets, employed in bandaging in turn both friend and foe, even at the risk of their own lives.

After a furious conflict, the scale of victory inclined to

the people: the guards and Swiss alone fought with pertinacity, but finally retreated towards the Louvre and Tuilleries. Meanwhile, on Wednesday evening, the patriots had proclaimed a provisional government, composed of Messieurs Lafayette, Gerard and Choiseul. This government produced the happiest effects on the public mind. Entire companies of National Guards reappeared in uniform, inspiring the people with fresh courage, who now rushed with confidence to the combat, as to certain victory.

At eleven in the morning of the 29th, the meeting appointed at M. Lafitte's assembled. The successes of the night had produced singular convictions; and many who had, the day before, departed *legitimates*, returned indignant at the horrible obstinacy of the Bourbons in shedding the blood of *their subjects*!

The deputies having appointed Lafayette to the command of all the military forces, the latter demanded the formation of a civil commission, composed of deputies, but he declined the honor of appointing them himself. His colleagues, therefore, named Messrs. Manguin, Lafitte, De Schonen, Audry de Puyraveau, Loban and Casimir P rier, as municipal commissioners, charged with the superintendence of general affairs.

Meanwhile, the Louvre and the Tuilleries had just been carried, after an obstinate resistance on the part of the guards and of the Swiss, and prodigies of valor on the side of the people. This people, always master of itself, walked conqueror through the abode of kings, and there, as at the residence of M. Lafitte, as at the Hotel de Ville, at St. Cloud, and every where, showed itself another Spartan army in the palace of Xerxes. As the reward of victory, this people demanded only to place a corpse on the throne of Charles X.; not an atom was disturbed in this *depot* of luxury and costliness.

When the meeting of the 29th terminated, Lafayette proceeded towards the Hotel de Ville. The most enthusiastic joy was manifested by the people, on seeing a generalissimo appear, who brought to their recollection fifty years of battles fought in the cause of liberty; and his progress had the appearance of a triumph.

At the moment that the *cortege*, advancing slowly amidst these condensed masses, reached the *Rue aux*

Fers, a cloud of tri-colored ribbons covered the whole group, in the middle of which was Lafayette. The general hastened to hoist the three colors, as did every body who could obtain a portion, however small, of this patriotic trifle.

Arrived, at length, at the Hotel de Ville, where he was received by Gen. Dubourg, who had established himself there before him, and by Col. Zimmer, who had already there organized a general staff, his first care was to unfurl the tri-colored flag upon the tower of this ancient edifice, and to cover the walls of the capital with the following proclamation :

“My dear fellow-citizens and brave comrades,

“The confidence of the people of Paris once more calls me to the command of the popular force. I have accepted with devotion and joy the powers that have been confided to me, and, as in 1789, I feel myself strong in the approbation of my honorable colleagues, this day assembled in Paris. I shall make no profession of my faith ; my sentiments are well known. The conduct of the Parisian population, in these last days of trial, has made me more than ever proud of being their leader.

“Liberty shall triumph, or we will perish together !

“Vive la Liberté ! Vive la Patrié !

“LAFAYETTE.”

Meanwhile, the commission arrived at the Hotel de Ville and took charge of the immediate wants of the service, while the Generals Gerard and Pajol, visited in succession the various points of defence ; for a general and decisive attack from the enemy was still expected. Such was, in fact, the intention of the court, which was renounced, after its columns had been moved forward, only on a sight of the measures which had been adopted to receive them. In the night, between Thursday and Friday, the popular bivouacks were still disturbed by some light parties, but actual battle had ceased in Paris, and hostilities were but faintly continued in the Bois de Boulogne and on the lines of retreat of the royal troops, which were concentrating upon St. Cloud.

In this state of affairs, Lafayette's first care was to address to the army the following proclamation, with the

view of tranquillizing it upon the sentiments borne towards it by the nation :

“BRAVE SOLDIERS,

“The inhabitants of Paris do not hold you responsible for the orders which have been given you ; come over to us, we will receive you as brothers ; come and range yourselves under the orders of that brave general who has shed his blood for the defence of the country under so many various circumstances, Gen. Gerard. The cause of the army could not be long separated from the cause of the nation and of liberty : is not its glory our dearest patrimony ? Neither can we ever forget that the defence of our independence and our liberty is our first duty as citizens. Let us then be friends, because our interests and our rights are in common. Gen. Lafayette declares, in the name of the whole population of Paris, that it cherishes no sentiment either of hatred or hostility against the French soldiers : it is ready to fraternize with all those who will return to the cause of the country and of liberty ; and it ardently invokes the moment when citizens and soldiers, united under the same banner and in the same sentiments, may at length realize the happiness and glorious destinies of our fine country.

“Vive la France !

“GENERAL LAFAYETTE.”

Thus ended active operations within the radius of the capital.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

The Duke of Orleans appointed Lieutenant-General of France—He is raised to the throne—Lafayette resigns the command of the National Guards—His death and funeral.

FROM the moment of the publication of the ordinances, some men, devoted, during many years, to the interests of the house of Orleans, had conceived the project of substituting the younger for the elder branch of the reigning house, and all their proceedings during the three days' struggle, tended towards this result. M. Lafitte was es-

pecially the patron of this *denouement*. The idea, with him, was of many years' standing; and during the three days of the revolution, he kept the Duke of Orleans advised of the popular movements in Paris. While the military chiefs were taking measures to consolidate the victory achieved by the people alone, and the municipal commission, with the commissioners entrusted with the different departments, were re-organizing the general service, a fraction of the chamber of deputies, in a meeting at M. Lafitte's, were employing themselves in arranging a new order of things.

A deputation composed of M. M. d'Argout, Semonville, and Vitrolles, had presented itself at the Hotel de Ville, to treat in the name of Charles X., and to announce to the commission that the ordinances were withdrawn, and a new ministry nominated, which included M. M. Casimir Périer and Gerard. These envoys were introduced to the municipal commission, and the presence of Lafayette was requested. The answer was not delayed: the people had fought to the cry of *Down with the Bourbons*, and it was too late; the Bourbons had ceased to reign. This was what M. M. Lafayette, Audry de Puyraveau, and Mauguin, formally declared to the ambassadors from St. Cloud, in the presence of M. Périer, who kept silence. The royal commissaries were about to retire, when M. de Sémonville having addressed himself to Lafayette, the latter asked him if the Bourbons had yet assumed the tri-colored cockade; and on his answer that it was a serious consideration, the general replied, that they might now dispense with any pain this act might cost them, as it was already too late: all was over.

The next day, M. de Sussy, the bearer of a letter from M. de Mortemart, the new prime minister of Charles X., and an enclosure containing the recall of the ordinances, found Lafayette surrounded by his officers and a crowd of citizens. "We need be under no constraint," said he to M. de Sussy, "I am here in the midst of my friends, and have no secrets with them;" and opening the paper, the contents of which he read with a loud voice: "Well!" said he, to the people, "what answer shall we make?" "No more negotiations!" was the cry from all sides. "You hear," continued Lafayette; "it is too late."

Sometime afterwards, a patriot orator, sent to some regiments which covered the court, having brought back information that the commander of the royal troops, on the bridge of St. Cloud, complained that, since the recall of the ordinances, no explanation had been made to them, and asked a categorical answer, Lafayette sent him back immediately with a billet couched in the following terms:

"I am asked for an explicit answer on the situation of the royal family, since its last aggression upon the public liberty, and the victory of the Parisian population; I shall give it frankly; it is, that all conciliation is impossible, and that the royal family has ceased to reign.

"LAFAYETTE."

Since their propositions, obstinately rejected at the Hotel de Ville, the commissioners of Charles X. hoped to find a better reception at M. Lafitte's. About nine or ten o'clock in the evening, M. d'Argout presented himself to the members of the chamber, who were sitting at the house of this deputy, and declared to them, that he was commissioned to announce to them, in the name of the king, his master, the recall of the ordinances, and the formation of a ministry composed of characters more acceptable to the country; that matters were therefore re-established as before the violation of the charter, and that Charles X. made no doubt but the national representation would interpose its mediation to bring the people back to their allegiance. The answer of M. Lafitte was as peremptory as had been that of M. Lafayette, at the Hotel de Ville. "War has decided," said he to M. d'Argout; "Charles X. is no longer king of France." M. d'Argout withdrew, after vainly insisting upon the guarantees of inviolability with which the constitution still surrounded the person of the king.

The cause of the elder branch of the Bourbons was irrevocably lost, not only in the will of the people, but in the thoughts of the two centres of action, which had possessed themselves of the direction of affairs. The Hotel de Ville and the Lafitte meeting, were agreed as to the definitive expulsion of the reigning family, but by no

means so, as to the form of government ulteriorly to be adopted, or the new dynasty to be elected. These capital questions were subjects of warm controversy at the Hotel de Ville, while at Lafitte's, an almost entire unanimity prevailed upon the choice of the Duke of Orleans, or rather upon the proclamation of this choice, already prepared by the efforts and the secret manœuvres of the honorable banker. The intrigues of M. Lafitte at length prevailed, and the Duke of Orleans was appointed Lieutenant-General of France.

The earnest wish of Lafayette, and that which he repeatedly expressed, was the appointment of a provisional government, until the primary assemblies should be convoked in the form prescribed by the constituent assembly, and the nation should express its sentiments respecting the form of government and the dynasty to be established ; it being an understood condition that it should be in favor of the monarchical system. But this was not conformable with the ideas of the deputies ; and it must be observed that they represented eighty thousand of the most notable citizens in the country, and that the invariable principles of Lafayette made him regard it as a duty to bow to this national representation, however vicious and imperfect he might consider it. What then was to be done ? To disavow the authority, at least the moral authority of the chamber, and to come to a rupture with it ? But considering the general disposition of the public mind, this might have been a rupture with the majority of the departments, and perhaps to confine the revolution to Paris. Would it be advisable to repel to-day, as unworthy, the men who only yesterday had been held up as the firmest supporters of liberty ? But to act in this way might have appeared like an insult to the national intelligence, a separation of the cause of the provinces from that of the capital, and an excitement to civil war, which might then have strangled the revolution at its birth.

These primary considerations are too frequently lost sight of by those patriots, who, judging from events, and without looking back to the starting point, blame Lafayette for remaining faithful to his political creed, and not overcoming the resistance of a chamber, which, in the absence of every other national representation, contained the elected of the people.

Besides, considering the lieutenant-generalship of the Duke of Orleans only as a form of government essentially provisional, it is certain that it was, more than any other, in accordance with the wishes of Lafayette. Being questioned, on the Friday morning, by the friends of his royal highness, he replied that, though he was not much acquainted with that prince, yet he esteemed his personal character and the simplicity of his manners; that he had seen him an ardent patriot in his youth; that he had never fought except under the tri-colored flag; and that these considerations were sufficient to induce him not to oppose his being appointed lieutenant-general.

The following is an extract from the order of the day which he published on this occasion :

"Amidst the powers created by the necessities of our situation, the re-organization of the National Guards is a measure of defence and public order demanded on all sides. It is the opinion (and I feel that it is complimentary to me) of the prince, who executes the high functions of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, that I ought for the present to take the command of the National Guard. I refused to do so in 1790, when solicited by three millions of my comrades, because the office would have been permanent and might one day have become dangerous. Now circumstances are different, and I believe it to be my duty, in order to secure liberty and my country, to accept the office of commandant-general of the National Guards of France.

"LAFAYETTE."

A permanent form of government was now to be determined on, and its nature became an object of deep solicitude. A republic, based on the principles recognized by the constitution of the United States, was the favorite plan of Lafayette; but he well knew the odium which the excesses of the former revolution had attached to the very name of a republic; and "a popular throne, surrounded by republican institutions," was what he believed the French people needed at that juncture.

The Duke of Orleans was at length raised to the throne, and at his earnest solicitation, Lafayette retained the office of commandant-general of the National Guards.

Lafayette retained this commission until after the termination of the trial of Polignac, Peyronnet, Chanteleuse, and Ranville, ministers of Charles X., when the enmity of ministers and the jealousy of Louis Philippe procured the passage of a resolution, in the chamber of deputies, abolishing the office of commander-in-chief. Lafayette immediately resigned, before the resolution became a law.

The "Citizen King" and his ministers affected extreme regret at this unexpected movement, which, though brought about by their own intrigues, was altogether too sudden to suit their designs.

In the chamber, Lafayette labored with untiring effort to check the counter-revolutionary measures of the government, which were daily becoming more and more alarming. He urged the recognition of the independence of Poland, and proved that the struggle in which the patriots of that country were engaged, had saved France from the attacks of a Russian army. He also labored to procure the abolition of the hereditary peerage—a question which was finally carried by a vote of three hundred and twenty-four out of four hundred and eighteen.

During the session of the chambers in the spring of 1834, Gen. Lafayette attended the funeral of M. Dulong, the nephew of Dupont de l'Eure, and walked to the cemetery with his head uncovered. A severe cold was the consequence; fever ensued and terminated fatally, on the 20th of May.

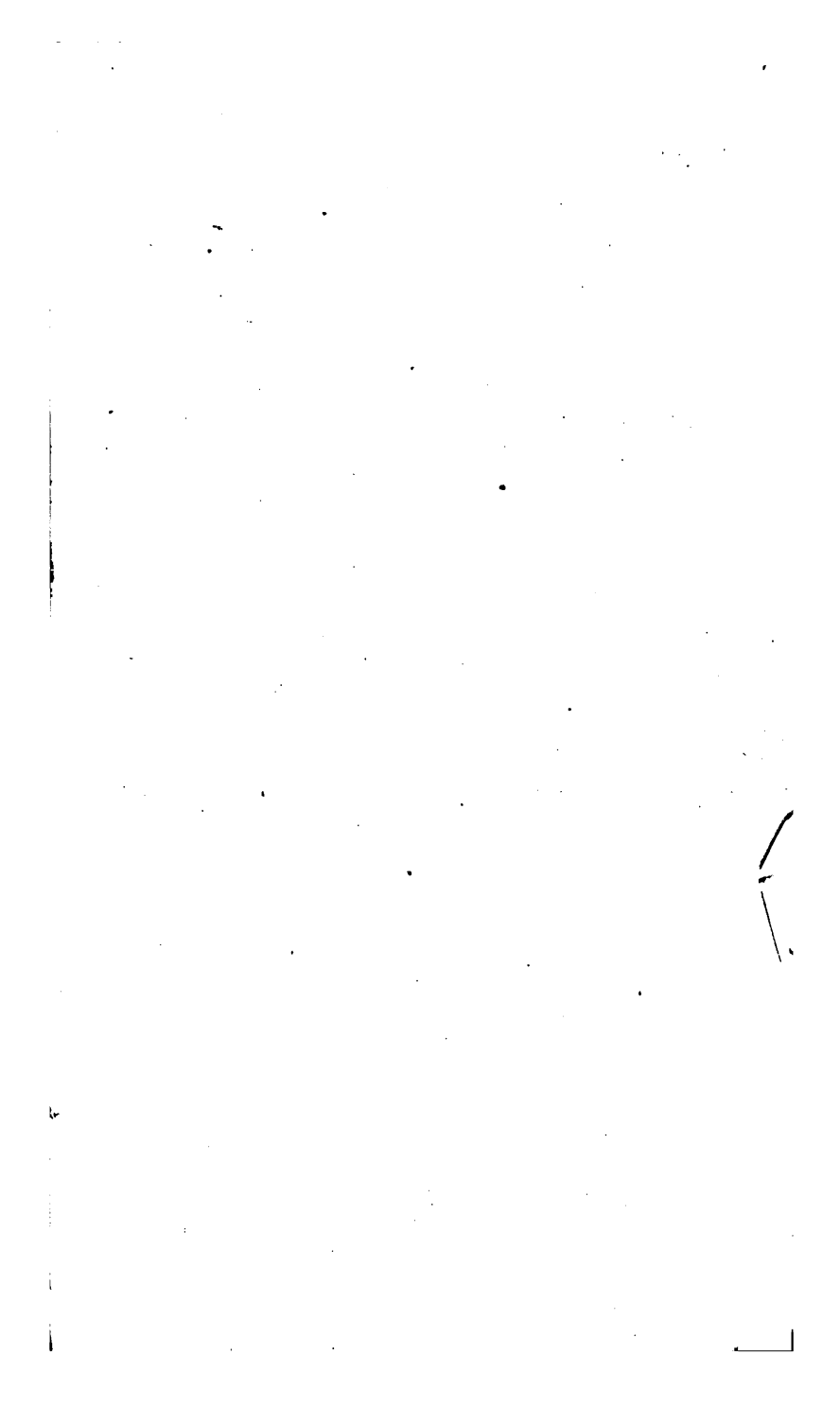
Amidst the chequered scenes through which Lafayette was called to pass—at the head of armies, with a nation's fate depending on his word; in the saloons of royalty; or immured in the dungeons of despotism; he remained the uncompromising friend of civil and religious liberty, and the consistent supporter of those eternal principles of justice which, while a youth, he perilled his life to maintain. No eulogy need be pronounced over his ashes: the friends of liberty throughout the world have embalmed his memory in their hearts, and his name will long remain a watch-word for the foes of despotism.

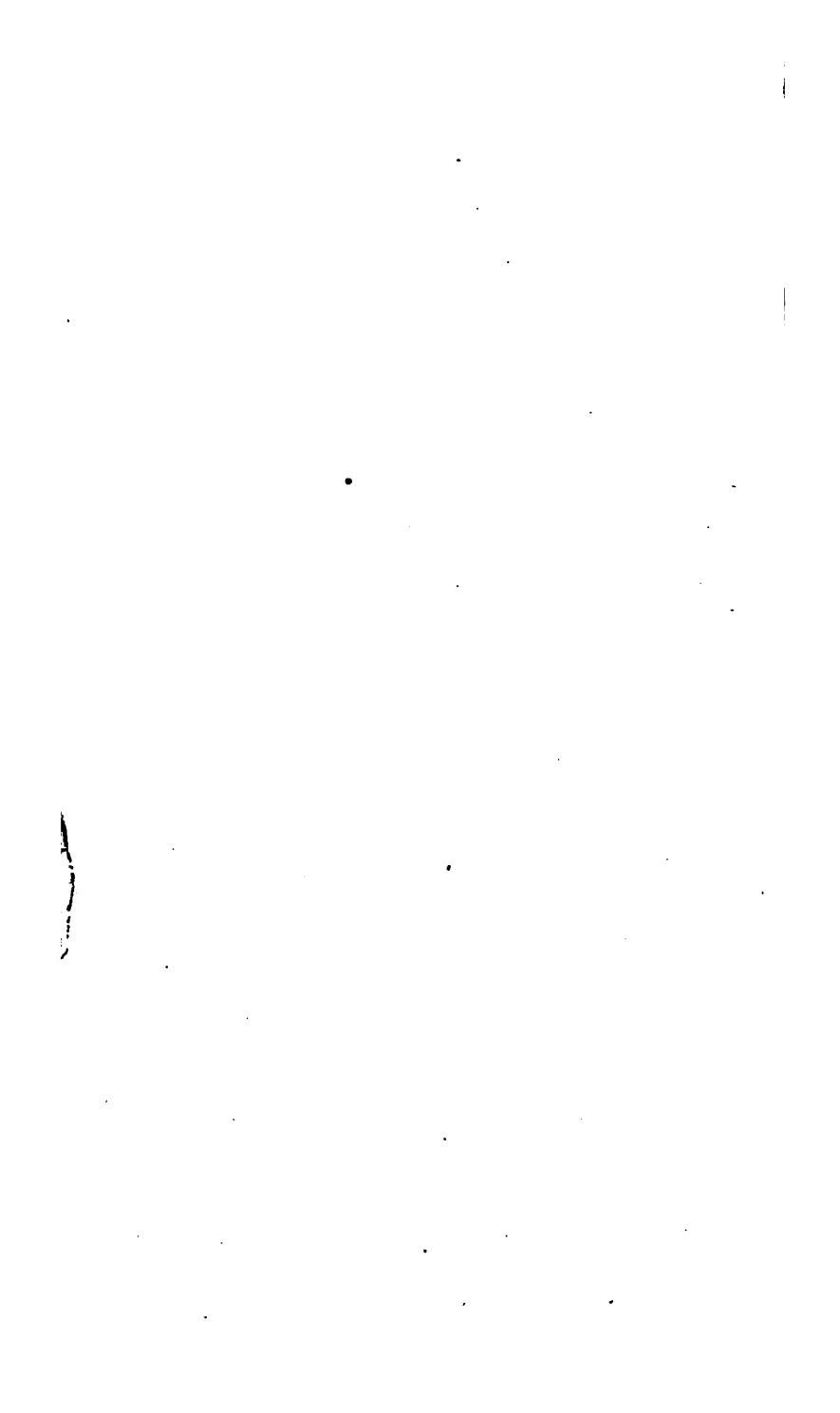
The following from a correspondent of the London Courier, at Paris, was written while the funeral procession was moving:

"The streets of the interior of this capital presented, this morning, the appearance of a desert, while the entire extent of the Boulevards and the streets leading to them, were filled with dense masses of the inhabitants crowding at every point which promised to command a view of the funeral procession of Lafayette, appointed to-day. In point of numbers, the spectators congregated at the funeral of Gen. Lamarque, or those at the more recent interment of M. Dulong, were but trifling, when compared with the incalculable multitude of people present at the sad ceremonial of to-day. To the present hour (about three) every thing has passed off with the most perfect tranquillity, nor is there any apprehension entertained in any quarter, that attempts will be made to disturb the public peace, or that the memory of the most popular citizen of France will be insulted by a recurrence of the scenes which the country had to lament upon a former occasion, when the persuasions of Lafayette himself, over the hearse of Lamarque, were insufficient to induce the perturbators of the 6th June, to abandon their designs. Great numbers of military are present in the funeral procession, not perhaps more with an intention, on the part of the government, of rendering homage to the character of the deceased, than as a measure of precaution, should the immense accumulation of all classes which the occasion has caused, give rise to any unexpected collision. The general regret felt throughout this city for the venerable deceased, is, with a great majority, entirely apart from politics; for, though a most inflexible republican, the asperities of party never found a place in his truly liberal and generous mind.

"A political opponent once out of the arena, was to Lafayette, no longer any thing but a friend; the circle of those admitted to share his private hospitality was so ample, that it comprized the partizans of nearly every doctrine, and almost the natives of every clime; but no feeling was ever wounded, nor even a prejudice assailed within its sacred limits. It was, doubtless, to this admirable feature in his private character, that he owed much of the affectionate esteem with which every party regarded him, and which has turned Paris—frivolous, volatile Paris—to-day, into a city of mourning. The illness which has proved fatal to the venerable general, com-

menced soon after the funeral of M. Dulong, who, you will recollect, was shot in a duel some three months ago, or thereabouts. On that occasion he persisted, against the remonstrances of his friends, in following the hearse on foot the whole of the distance to Pere la Chaise ; and, with his other colleagues of the chamber of deputies who attended on that occasion, walked bare headed. Such is the custom in France ; but both would have been willingly dispensed with in favor of any man of seventy-seven, and more particularly as that man was the venerated Lafayette. The cold and fatigue affected him for some days, but he partially recovered, and was present several times in his place in the chamber. It was his intention to have spoken against the Association Law, and I believe he had inserted his name in the list of its opponents. When the period came, however, he was confined to his bed ; and, though he afterwards rose and was pronounced convalescent, he never perfectly recovered. About a week since, symptoms of malignant fever were suddenly manifest, and in the enfeebled state of his constitution, he sunk under the malady."









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